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EDITORIAL

THE echoes of the rumpus over 'Lady Chatterley's Lover' have long since died away. The bookshops must by now have been stripped of every available copy; the jury, discreetly anonymous, have resumed their private avocations; and the British public, most of whom had never heard of Lawrence before, can forget that he ever existed. It would be difficult to imagine a similar excitement in the world of music. There have, of course, been protests in the past about operas. In 1856 *The Athenaeum* said of 'La Traviata': "The music . . . is trashy; the young Italian lady cannot do justice to the music, such as it is. Hence it follows that the opera and the lady can only establish themselves in proportion as Londoners rejoice in a prurient story prettily acted". A critic in the *Münchener Volksbote* in 1865 described the forthcoming performance of 'Tristan und Isolde' as "adultery with drums and trumpets". And Sir Thomas Beecham has told us at length what a fuss there was about the first London performance of 'Salome' in 1910. Even the literature of song has not been exempt: a German writer in 1881 objected strongly to one of Schumann's duets, "which could not fail to bring blushes to the hearers' cheeks". The situation was particularly grave, since the audience consisted of ladies and young girls. "Music", said the critic, "is sublime; but debased to a slavish service of sensuality, its effect is doubly injurious and reprehensible."

All this is calculated to raise indulgent smiles. But the smiles should be directed not against what may be regarded as an outmoded prudery but against the mistaken notion that music can ever succeed in being improper. There is nothing in the music of 'Tristan' to

suggest that Isolde is another man's wife; and neither Violetta nor Alfred sing a single phrase that can be interpreted as evidence of immorality. There are no weapons in the composer's armoury for this sort of blunt statement; and if he tries to suggest impropriety without the aid of words he is quite helpless. No one who did not know the story of 'Der Rosenkavalier' would have the remotest idea what the orchestra was up to in the introduction. It might equally well be a representation of a hunting scene or a game of football. Some writers have suggested that criticism plays an important part in music. Rutland Boughton once told us that "Beethoven opened the flood-gates of sex into music." This is plain nonsense. Beethoven did nothing of the kind. It is true that music may often have had erotic associations for a composer, but there is no guarantee whatever that the listener will have the same associations. Without a programme note the celebrated episode in the 'Symphonia domestica' means nothing outside itself. I was once solemnly informed that the horn solo in the first movement of Brahms's second symphony was grossly indecent; but repeated hearings of the work have failed to convince me that it is anything else but music.

Mendelssohn's dictum that music is more definite than words has sometimes been misunderstood. It is not definite in the sense that it can pinpoint the objects of our emotions. What it does is to express the emotions themselves. We cannot do this in words: we can only say that we feel this or that. Music says simply: "We feel". That is what Elgar meant by saying that music was at its best when it was simple. Basically the emotions can be reduced to three main categories: an urge towards something, contentment or resignation, and a decline of energy. The urge may be slight or may turn into an ardent longing, the decline of energy may result in something akin to despair; but whatever the degrees may be, music can translate them directly into sound. What it cannot do is to make us aware of the circumstances which prompted the emotion or the end to which it is directed.

Mozart had very clear ideas about the function of music as a means of expression. "Passions", he said, "whether violent or not, must never be expressed in such a way as to excite disgust, and . . . music, even in the most terrible situations, must never offend the ear, but must please the hearer, or in other words must never cease to be *music*." It would have been interesting to hear him argue this at length. "Music must never offend the ear." Whose ear? And how can anyone know what will please the hearer? We cannot all be expected to react in the same way. One man's meat is another man's poison.

Mozart himself did not always please his hearers; quite a number of contemporary critics disapproved strongly of his music. Then again, at what point does music cease to be music? Is the opening of 'Mars' in 'The Planets' to be regarded as music? If we were to take it by itself, the answer would be 'no'. A piece consisting entirely of the rhythmical reiteration of a single note would be intolerable. But as a background to a theme the drumming fits into place: we judge the piece as a whole, not as a jumble of bits which are meaningless in isolation. Here again there is nothing in the music to compel us to believe that we are listening to a representation of war: it might equally well be a suggestion of violent protest or the initial stages of schizophrenia.

Music is equally powerless to depict moral qualities. There is no such thing as evil music. The demons in 'Gerontius' may proclaim their wickedness to their hearts' content, but they might just as well be an angry crowd of workmen hurling defiance at the management. People often talk about the purity of sublime pieces of liturgical music; but it is not a moral purity. Bach, who cheerfully switched his music from secular to sacred, would have laughed at the idea. This does not mean that any piece of secular music can be transplanted into the service of the Church. If there are strongly secular associations, those associations will cause offence. The notorious 'Folk Mass' was not merely poor music: it made the mistake of trying to force on sincerely religious people something that inevitably recalled an irreligious environment. The austerity of a good deal of sixteenth-century Church music was obviously a deliberate avoidance of anything that could remind listeners of the subject matter of the madrigal. Progressive composers felt this restraint to be oppressive; and as the idioms peculiar to secular music became part of the normal language of composition they found their way naturally into the music of the Church. This process has continued in later centuries. I doubt if anyone was disturbed by Stainer's 'Crucifixion' when it first appeared on the ground that it made free use of the idioms of Italian opera.

Composers, unlike authors, have nothing to worry about. There are no four-letter words in music. Busoni thought that 'Madam Butterfly' was indecent, but not on moral grounds. If composers were to be prosecuted for sins against taste there might well be a rich crop of convictions. But in every other respect the world is their oyster. No one is going to suggest that Mr. A's symphony is unsuitable for a wife or daughter; and if anyone is stupid enough to hint at impropriety, the answer is simple: "Honi soit qui mal y pense".

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER IN ENGLISH EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OPERA

By J. MERRILL KNAPP

IN most music histories a familiar paragraph in the chapter on English music reads something like this: "The death of Henry Purcell in 1695 was a blow to English music from which it did not fully recover until the twentieth century. Fifteen years later, in 1710, the arrival of Handel in London meant an overwhelming triumph for Italian opera. He and his music dominated the scene for almost fifty years, and the native composer was completely overshadowed".

No doubt Handel's presence was a powerful deterrent to both his English and Italian rivals, but his so-called victory was by no means as one-sided as this statement presumes. His difficulties are well-known: financial worries, temperamental singers, illness, and competition from other operatic enterprises. What is less often stressed is the amount and variety of English musical entertainment holding the stage during these years. Much of it was opera in name only—ballad operas like 'The Beggar's Opera', dramatic operas after the Purcell model, pastorals, pantomimes, masques, drolls. But these quasi-operas, playing mostly at Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields from c. 1710 to 1740, far exceed in number the Italian operas of the equivalent period, even excluding pantomimes and 'entertainments' from the list.¹ They often lured the crowd away from the Haymarket (the opera theatre) and provided lively competition for an audience. If numbers and receipts are any criterion, they were the entertainment that triumphed, not Handel, all four of whose operatic ventures eventually failed—the first Royal Academy in 1728, the 'Second Academy' in 1734, the 'Third' in 1737, and his own in 1741.

Numerically, however, the comparison is not quite just, for few of these English 'operas' were "after the Italian manner", i.e. all sung. They were either plays with music or music with dialogue and dramatic action, depending upon the emphasis. The lack of operas on the Italian model has historical roots in the seventeenth century. The Restoration preferred its music drama along the lines of 'King Arthur' and 'The Tempest', and this preference continued into the

¹ Allardyce Nicoll, 'A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama' (Cambridge, 1925), Appendix C.

eighteenth century. Nevertheless, there was a significant handful of serious English operas after 1700, and while these isolated works have been known and listed, they have never been given much attention. The beginnings were not auspicious for either the Italian or the English party. During the years 1705-10, when, in Colley Cibber's prejudiced but colourful words, "the *Italian Opera* began first to steal into *England*, but in as rude a disguise, and unlike itself as possible; in a lame, hobbling Translation into our own Language, with false Quantities, or Metre out of Measure to its original Notes, sung by our own unskilful Voices, with Graces misapply'd to almost every Sentiment, and with Action lifeless and unmeaning through every Character,"² opera see-sawed back and forth between performances in English, performances partly in English, partly in Italian, and performances wholly in Italian. Most of the works were old Italian operas made into pasticcios, but one, in 1707, was strictly English, and had it been successful, operatic history in London might have been quite different.

Joseph Addison's 'Rosamond', a failure after three performances, makes it clear that no opera, however well-constructed the libretto, can succeed without music of high calibre. Thomas Clayton, the composer, was really an arranger. His music, for those who take the trouble to examine it, is unfortunately as bad as historians from Burney on have declared it to be. Yet the composer was not wholly to blame. The verse is elegant and mellifluous, as both Dr. Johnson and Macaulay have pointed out, but the story lacks force. Addison may have wished to avoid the incredible complications of contemporary Italian librettos, but as a result very little happens. It is difficult to get excited about the *dramatis personae* lost in a garden maze in Woodstock Park. There is a supposed death potion which Queen Elinor forces on Rosamond, King Henry II's beloved. But unlike 'Tristan', the result is uneasy slumber; and at the end the King and Queen are reunited, while Rosamond, the *femme fatale*, goes off to a nunnery—a concession to the happy ending: in the original ballad she dies.

Wherever the blame might fall, Addison, at least, was unwilling to have his fingers burned a second time, for he never tried another libretto. Yet he saw the problems clearer than most people, particularly that peculiar Italian invention, the recitative, which gave the audience so much trouble when put into English. In April 1711, a

² 'An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber', ed. by Robert W. Low (London, 1889), i, p. 324. Michael Kelly in his 'Reminiscences' (London, 1826), ii, p. 376 liked this sentence so well that he used it almost *verbatim* without any acknowledgment.

few months after the great success of Handel's 'Rinaldo', which seemed to decide the issue once and for all in favour of the pure Italian genre, he joined the fray again by taking up his pen to discuss this subject:

There is nothing that has more startled our *English* audience, than the *Italian Recitativo* at its first Entrance upon the Stage. People were wonderfully surprized to hear Generals singing the Word of Command, and Ladies delivering Messages in Musick. Our Countrymen could not forbear laughing when they heard a Lover chanting out a Billet-doux, and even the Superscription of a Letter set to a Tune...

But however this *Italian Method* of acting in *Recitativo* might appear at first hearing, I cannot but think it much more just than that which prevailed in our *English Opera* before this Innovation: The Transition from an Air to Recitative Musick being more natural, than the passing from a Song to plain and ordinary Speaking, which was the common Method in *Purcell's Operas*.

The only Fault I find in our present Practice is the making use of the *Italian Recitativo* with *English Words*.

To go to the Bottom of this Matter, I must observe, that the Tone, or (as the French call it) the Accent of every Nation in their ordinary Speech, is altogether different from that of every other People; as we may see even in the *Welsh* and *Scotch*, who border so near upon us. By the Tone or Accent, I do not mean the Pronunciation of each particular Word, but the Sound of the whole Sentence...

For this Reason, the Recitative Musick in every Language, should be as different as the Tone or Accent of each Language; for otherwise, what may properly express a Passion in one Language, will not do it in another. Every one who has been long in *Italy* knows very well, that the Cadences in the *Recitativo* bear a remote Affinity to the Tone of their Voices in ordinary Conversation; or, to speak more properly, are only the accents of their Language made more Musical and Tuneful...

I am therefore humbly of Opinion, that an *English* Composer should not follow the *Italian Recitativo* too servilely, but make use of many gentle Deviations from it, in Compliance with his own Native Language. He may Copy out of it all the lulling Softness and *Dying Falls* (as *Shakespear* calls them), but should still remember that he ought to accommodate himself to an *English* Audience; and by humouring the Tone of our Voices in ordinary Conversation, have the same Regard to the Accent of his own Language, as those persons had to theirs whom he professes to imitate.³

These are wise words, and it is a pity that Addison never found another opportunity to prove his point or was fortunate enough to secure a collaborator of Handel's quality among his own countrymen.

But there was to be one more serious attempt to produce an English opera after the Italian manner before the London stage

³ *The Spectator*, No. 29, 3 April 1711 (Everyman edition, i, pp. 86, foll.).

succumbed for many years to the pure Italian variety (and less exalted entertainment).⁴ This work and its authors is our chief concern here. The opera was 'Calypso and Telemachus' with text by John Hughes and music by John Ernest Galliard. It was produced in May 1712 during the 1711-12 season when Handel was providentially out of London, having returned to Hanover in June 1711. (He did not come back until the autumn of 1712.) With a novelty the authors had practically a clear field, for the operatic season had relied almost entirely on Italian revivals: 'Almahide', 'L'Idaspe fedele'—both of 1710, the latter 'containing Nicolini's famous lion fight, immortalized by Addison in *Spectator* No. 13; two older operas by Gasparini, 'Antioco' and 'Ambleto', both written in 1705⁵; 'Rinaldo' (1710-11) and 'Thomyris' (1707); and a pasticcio, 'Ercole'. Of these, 'Antioco' achieved the greatest popularity with fifteen performances in December, January, February, April and May.⁶ 'Calypso and Telemachus' was less fortunate, having only four performances after its opening on 14 May.⁷ (It was revived three more times in 1717.)

William Duncombe, who edited John Hughes's poems in 1735⁸, said in his introduction that the opera was not more successful because the Italian clique, alarmed at its possible competition, persuaded the Duke of Shrewsbury, then Lord Chamberlain, "to take off the Subscription for it, and to open the House at the lowest Prices, or not at all. This was designed to sink it, but failed of its End. It was however performed, tho' under so great Discouragement". Since Duncombe was Hughes's brother-in-law, his account may be slightly prejudiced, but Dr. Johnson repeated the same accusation in his sketch of Hughes ('Lives of the Poets'), adding the fact that the Lord Chamberlain was even more *parti pris* since he was married to an Italian. This essay contains the famous Johnsonian quotation about opera, but the condemnation is against Italian opera, not all

⁴ Julian Herbage, 'The Opera of Operas', *Monthly Musical Record*, May-June, 1959, p. 89, in a discussion of English operas in the 1730's by Arne, Lampe, Carey and others surely does not mean these were "the first attempts to establish an English Opera after the Italian manner". They may have been the first serious efforts after 1712.

⁵ A German opera (1706) by Schürmann on the same subject is listed in Alfred Loewenberg, 'Annals of Opera', 2nd ed. (Geneva, 1955), p. 117.

⁶ Loewenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 145.

⁷ British Museum, Egerton 2321: 'Register of Pieces' performed nightly . . . from October 1710 to July 1729.

⁸ 'Register of Pieces' lists only four performances, giving 17 May as the opening date. Nicoll, *op. cit.*, p. 338 and Loewenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 126 (using Continental dating procedure) both agree on 14 May as the first performance. The other dates were 21 May, 24 May and 25 June. Deutsch, 'Handel: A Documentary Biography' (London, 1955), p. 49, lists 5 June as the first performance, but this seems to be a mistake.

⁹ 'Poems on Several Occasions' (with some select essays in prose) by John Hughes, Esq., ed. by William Duncombe (London, 1735), 2 vols.

opera. Johnson is referring to Hughes's previous setting of six cantatas in English and says they "seem intended to oppose or exclude the Italian opera, an exotick and irrational entertainment, which has always been combated, and always has prevail'd".¹⁰

John Hughes (1677-1720) was a minor literary figure of the early eighteenth century in the Addison-Steele circle, who was also a friend of Kneller, Congreve, Southern and Rowe. He contributed to the *Tatler*, *Spectator* and *Guardian*; wrote cantatas, odes, and masques¹¹ with music by Pepusch and others; did work as a translator from the Greek, Latin, French, Spanish and Italian; edited Spenser in six volumes (1715); and produced several plays, the best known of which is 'The Siege of Damascus', first performed on the night of his death (from consumption) in 1720. While not brilliant, he was certainly competent, and his career is distinguished for the breadth of his interests.

A letter of 1711 from Steele to Hughes asks for Hughes's help in rearranging Dryden's 'Alexander's Feast' for musical setting: "It is to be performed by a voice well skilled in recitative, but you understand all these matters much better than / Your affectionate humble servant / R. Steele¹²." Through the columns of *The Spectator* Steele was supporting a series of concerts in York Buildings of English poetry set to music—a sort of poor man's substitute for opera. The composer was to be Thomas Clayton, of unhappy memory. Evidently after the music was finished Steele, knowing of Hughes's previous experience and suspicious perhaps of Clayton's ability, asked Hughes for his opinion of the music and also of a setting of William Harrison's 'Passion of Sappho', both of which were performed on 24 May 1711. Hughes's reply, given in part below, is a rare piece of eighteenth-century criticism dealing specifically with musical details and not merely descriptive adjectives¹³:

That which seems to me to strike most, are the Prelude Bases, some of which are very well fancy'd; but I am afraid they are in themselves too long, especially when repeated; for Prelude Bases

¹⁰ Samuel Johnson, 'Lives of the Poets' (World's Classics Edition), i, p. 451.

¹¹ Hughes has the honour of being the author of a cantata, 'Venus and Adonis', which is probably Handel's first setting of English words. The two men presumably met in London. (See Deutsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45.) Hughes also had a hand in 'Acis and Galatea': see Winton Dean, 'Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques' (London, 1959), pp. 157-8.

¹² 'The Correspondence of Richard Steele', ed. by Rae Blanchard (London, 1941), p. 44. In 'Letters by Several Eminent Persons Deceased, Including the Correspondence of John Hughes, Esq.' . . . [ed. by John Duncombe] (London, 1772), i, p. 106, there is a letter from Nicholas Rowe to John Hughes of 22 October 1716, asking for poetical assistance. He says: "I need not tell you, you are the fittest man in the world for this occasion, by your equal knowledge of music and poetry".

¹³ 'The Correspondence of Richard Steele', pp. 45-6.

are only to begin the subject of the Air, & do not shew any Composition (which consists in the union of parts) so that if they are not artfully worked afterwards with the Voice part, they are no proof of Skill, but only of Invention.

The Symphonies in many places seem to me perplex'd, and not made to pursue any Subject or Point.

The last Air of Sappho begins too cheerfully for the sense of the Words. As well as I can guess, without seeing the score, it is in D sharp, from which it varies (in another movement of Time) into B flat 3^d, & so ends, without returning to the same Key either flatt or sharp. This being one continued Air (though in two Movements of Time) let it be asked of some Master Whether it is allowable (I am sure, 'tis not usual) to begin an Air in one Key sharp, and end it in a different key flatt? For though y^e passage is natural, the Closing so is, I believe, always disallowed.¹⁴

The Overture of Alexander ought to be great & noble; instead of which, I find only a hurry of the Instruments, not proper (in my poor Opinion) & without any Design, or Fugue, & I'm afraid, perplex'd & irregular in the Composition, as far as I have any Ideas or Experience. Enquire this of better Judgments.

The rest of the letter is modest and sensible. Though an invalid most of his life, Hughes evidently had a gentle and lovable disposition¹⁵; and unlike some of his more robust and vitriolic contemporaries he did not write to offend or wound. Even Pope, who knew him slightly, recognized this; and although he cannot praise his work very highly, he defends his character.¹⁶

Johann Ernst Galliard (1680-1749) was one of the German tribe who migrated to London c. 1706, in advance of the Hanoverian invasion, as a chamber musician to Prince George of Denmark, Queen Anne's consort. He was highly regarded as an oboist¹⁷, had

¹⁴ This paragraph is confusing, to say the least, if the terms are interpreted with today's usage in mind. Actually, all Hughes means is that the air goes from D major (sharp = sharp key) to its relative minor, B minor (flat 3^d = minor 3rd), and ends there.

¹⁵ *The Theatre*, No. xv (Richard Steele). From Tuesday, 16 February to Saturday, 20 February, 1719-20.

¹⁶ When William Duncombe was gathering material for his edition of Hughes's poems in 1735, he wrote to Alexander Pope for letters which Pope might have received from Hughes. Pope replied (*The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. by George Sherburn [Oxford, 1956], iii, p. 437: 20 October 1734): "I have looked for the letter Mr. Hughes sent me, but cannot find it. I had a great regard for his merit, modesty, and softness of manners".

iii, p. 492. Swift to Pope. 3 September 1735:

"A month ago were sent me over by a friend of mine, the works of one John Hughes, Esq: They are in verse and prose. I never heard of the man in my life, yet I find your name as a subscriber too. He is too grave a Poet for me, and I think among the *mediocribus* in prose as well as verse."

iii, p. 508. Pope to Swift. [November, 1735]:

"To answer your question as to Mr. Hughes, I did just know him. What he wanted as to genius he made up as an honest man: but he was of the class you think him."

¹⁷ Burney speaks of his fine solo in 'M'adora l'idol mio' at the end of Act I in Handel's 'Teseo' (January, 1713). He also adds: "It seems as if he had been now a favourite

some facility at the keyboard (he was organist at Somerset House), and after 1717 was employed by Rich to write music for the many pantomimes and masques presented at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Among them were 'Pan and Syrinx' (1717), 'Jupiter and Europa' (1723), 'Dr. Faustus or the Necromancer' (1724), 'The Rape of Proserpine' (1725) and 'The Royal Chace or Merlin's Cave' (1736). Apart from a 'Hymn of Adam and Eve' out of the fifth book of 'Paradise Lost', a few choruses for a play, 'Julius Caesar' (1739), and an Italian opera unfinished at his death, Galliard's only serious work seems to have been 'Calypso and Telemachus'. If he were judged as a composer by 'The Hymn of Adam and Eve' alone (which Burney unaccountably calls excellent, though later he is quite severe on Galliard's general abilities as a composer)¹⁸, he would not rate far above Clayton. The hymn is pretty poor stuff—dull and uninspired; but as we shall see later, the opera is a different matter.

Like Hughes, Galliard was also a translator, and in later life (1743) he issued Tosi's 'Observations on the Florid Song' in English. His annotations and footnotes in this work are a good source of information for methods of performance in the early eighteenth century. Hawkins also attributed to him the anonymous 1709 translation of Raguenet's 'Parallèle des Italiens et des Français' along with the important 'Critical Discourse upon Operas' which appears with it. But it is hardly likely after about three year's residence that Galliard's English was good enough to undertake this task. Also, many of the events spoken of at first-hand in the 'Critical Discourse' (if the same person did both works) took place before he came to England. There is no record of the preparations for 'Calypso and Telemachus' in the spring of 1712, but Hughes's preface to the printed libretto¹⁹ is a most interesting document and deserves to be reprinted in full:

The following OPERA is an Essay for the Improvement of Theatrical Music in the *English* Language, after the Model of the *Italians*.

performer, as he is wholly unaccompanied in the last symphony, during several bars of no very uncommon cast".

¹⁸ Charles Burney, 'A General History of Music', ed. by Frank Mercer (New York, 1957), ii, p. 990.

¹⁹ 'Calypso and Telemachus/An/Opera/Perform'd at the/Queen's Theatre/in the/Hay-Market./Written by Mr. Hughes./The Musick compos'd by Mr. Galliard./London./Printed for E. Sanger, at the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet. 1712. Pr. 1 shilling.' Quarto, 58 pp. (The second edition of this libretto in 1717 is the same as the first, except for changes in the cast and some different wording in the dedicatory poem. The text is also printed in 'Poems on Several Occasions', 1735, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 20-58.) Hughes elaborates further on the subject of opera in English in his preface to 'Six Cantatas or/Poems for Musick./After the Manner of the *Italians*./Set to Musick by Mr. Pepusch' (c. 1716) ('Poems on Several Occasions', i, p. 127) and in a letter designed for *The Spectator* in 'Letters by Several Eminent Persons', *op. cit.*, i, p. 61.

It is certain, that this Art has for a considerable time flourish'd in *Italy* in greater Perfection than in any other Country. As the *Grecians* were formerly the Masters in Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Musick, whose Rules and Examples were follow'd by other Nations, the *Italians* are generally allow'd to be so now. It is some Years that the Musick of our Theatre has been almost wholly supply'd by them. Their most celebrated *Opera's* have been introduc'd among us, and a generous Encouragement has been given to such as came over, and perform'd Parts in them on the *English* Stage. By this means the Entertainments of *Italy* are become familiar to us, and our Audiences have heard the finest Compositions and Performances of *Rome* and *Venice*, without the Trouble of travelling to those Places.

I am not of the Opinion of those who impute this Encouragement given to *Italian* Musick, to an Affectation of every thing that is Foreign.

I wou'd rather ascribe it to the ingenuous Temper of the *British* Nation, that they are willing to be instructed in so elegant an Art by the best Examples. But after this Justice done to others, there is likewise a Justice due to our selves. It cou'd never have been the Intention of those, who first promoted the *Italian Opera*, that it shou'd take the intire [*sic*] Possession of our Stage, to the Exclusion of every thing of the like kind, which might be produc'd here. This wou'd be to suppress that Genius which Foreigners so commonly applaud in the *English*, who if they are not always the Inventors of Arts, are yet allow'd to be no ill Learners, and are often observ'd to improve that Knowledge, which they first receiv'd from others.

I know not how it comes to be a late Opinion among some, that *English* Words are not proper for Musick. That the *English* Language is not so soft and full of Vowels as the *Italian*, is readily granted; yet this does not prove, that it is therefore incapable of Harmony. Let it be consider'd, whether too great a Delicacy in this Particular may not run into Effeminacy? A due Mixture of Consonants is certainly necessary to bind the Words, which may be otherwise too much dissolv'd, and lose their Force. And as Theatrical Musick expresses a Variety of Passions, it is not requisite, even for the Advantage of the Sound, that the Syllables shou'd every where languish with the same loose and vowellly Softness.

But what is certainly of much more Consequence in Dramatical Entertainments, is, that they shou'd be perform'd in a Language understood by the Audience. One wou'd think there shou'd be no need to prove this. The great Pleasure in hearing Vocal Musick, arises from the Association of the Ideas rais'd at the same time by the Expressions and the Sounds.

Where these Ideas are separated, half the Impression is wanting; and where they are improperly join'd, it is imperfect. It is probable too, that the Pleasure we receive from the most patheticall Strains of Instrumental Musick, is in part assisted by some Ideas, which we affix to them, of Passions which seem to be express'd by those Strains. If the *Airs* in *Opera's* may be heard with Delight for the same Reason, even when the Words are not understood, yet it is impossible the

Recitative shou'd give Pleasure, which can raise no such Ideas; this being not so properly singing, as speaking in Musical Cadences. And the use of it seems to be introduc'd for the very same Reason which is given by *Aristotle*, for the establishing the use of the *Iambick* Verse in the *Greek* Tragedy, which is, that though it has not the Charms of some other kinds of Verse, yet it is more proper for Action and Dialogue, as it approaches nearer to common Speech. Thus Recitative Musick takes its Rise from the natural Tones and Changes of the Voice in speaking, and it is indeed no more than a sort of modulated Elocution.

The Story on which this *Opera* is form'd is well known. The first Foundation of it is in *Homer*, who has represented *Calypho* as a Goddess in Love with *Ulysses*, and detaining him by insidious Arts in the Island *Ogygia*, a small spot of Land, situate (according to *Ortelius*) just below the South Coast of *Italy*, in the *Ionian* Sea. The celebrated Author of *The Adventures of Telemachus* has rais'd his Invention upon this, by supposing that the Son of *Ulysses* was cast on the same Island after his Father had left it. The Character of *Minerva* attending *Telemachus* in the assum'd Person of *Mentor*, a Prince who was his Father's Friend, is likewise *Homer's*, but further improv'd by the modern Author. To adapt this Story to the Stage, it was necessary to change some of the Incidents; and the Part of *Proteus* is added, to give it the greater Variety.

I am sensible that the Success of Entertainments of this kind depends chiefly on the Musick, and that it is not usual to expect any thing exact in the Writing. I hope therefore I shall be allow'd the same Indulgence, which others have had on the like Occasions. The Difficulty of confining the Scenes to such short interchang'd Stages of Recitative and Airs, and of binding the Sense in such chosen Measures and Syllables, as will best give the Composer room to display his Skill, is indeed very great; yet notwithstanding this, some Examples of *Opera's* and Poems for Musick, originally written in our Language, with great Beauty of Thought and Expression, have shewn us, that the Poetical Part is capable of very agreeable Heightenings. An *Opera*, I think, is to be consider'd as a Species of Poetry, compounded out of the *Lyrick* and *Dramatick* Kinds, admitting of all the Beauty of the first, united with part of the latter. The Supernatural and Allegorical Persons, which may on some Occasions be introduc'd in it, tho' not allow'd in Tragedy, are amusing to the Imagination; and tho' these are Characters form'd beyond the Bounds of Nature and Reality, there is a kind of Poetical Nature that presides here, and ought to regulate the Poet's Invention and Conduct.

I cannot conclude without acknowledging the Pleasure I have had, to find the Words of this *Opera* so naturally express'd in the Musick, that I believe the Gentleman who has compos'd it, has offer'd a much more prevailing Argument than any I cou'd urge, to shew that the *English* Language is capable of the most agreeable Graces of Harmony. I have mention'd this without his Leave, yet cou'd not refrain from doing him a Justice, which I persuade myself will be confirm'd by the Opinion of the most disinterested Judges.

That the promoters of this opera had hopes of supplanting the Italian wing of the repertory is corroborated by the opening stanza of the dedicatory poem, written by one Topham Foot (aged 22):

While with a Master-Skill You strike the Strings,
And our own *British* Muse so tuneful sings,
Th' *Italian Opera* sure will quit the Stage,
And Charms Superior fix the flutt'ring Age.
Musick and *Verse* no longer disagree,
Nor Sense is now a Foe to *Harmony*.
In your *Telemachus* both Parts we find,
Poetic Beauty with soft Sounds combin'd.

The dedication proper is to the Duchess of Hamilton whom Hughes speaks of formerly honouring "some very imperfect Essays" of his. He also praises the Duke of Hamilton for helping to promote and support the opera. The drama is characterized as "Inoffensive and Moral".

The story, as the preface states, relates to the 'Odyssey', but it is really taken from 'Les Aventures de Télémaque, Fils d'Ulysse' (1699) by the French author and archbishop of Cambrai, Fénelon. This book, which went through a number of editions and translations up to the nineteenth century, was intended as a moral homily for the archbishop's royal pupil, the Duke of Burgundy (heir to the French throne), who died in 1715. In form somewhat similar to Homer, it relates the adventures of Telemachus who, in search of his lost father, Odysseus, is accompanied by his faithful friend, Mentor. The pair are cast up on the same island of Ogygia where Odysseus had been held in thrall by the goddess Calypso (book V of the 'Odyssey'). In describing his wanderings Telemachus evokes the sympathy and finally the love of Calypso, who sees in him the image of his father and is determined to detain him also. Meanwhile Telemachus falls in love with Eucharis, one of Calypso's nymphs, and is only persuaded to leave the island by force. He is escorted on board a ship constructed by Mentor which suddenly burns. They are forced to swim for their lives to another ship which bears them away.

Hughes omits the ship-burning episode and has Mentor appear as Minerva—a literal *dea ex machina* in a cloud—to remove Telemachus. Thwarted Calypso ends the opera by singing an arioso of unusual scope and power.²⁰ Proteus, the sea-god, who can "transform himself into all manner of Shapes", is an important addition to the

²⁰ "No longer here shall Nature smile,
Nor Spring perpetual grace my Isle;
Hence all ye flatt'ring Pleasures, fly!
Eternal Gloom blot out the Day!
Fade ev'ry Flow'r! each Tree decay!
O that Calypso too cou'd die!"

plot because he is in love with Eucharis and in league with Calypso. When Telemachus and Eucharis are off on a hunt, he provides ample opportunity for stage business by changing himself into a cloud, a tree, fire, and the shape of Eucharis respectively, in order to confuse Telemachus and frighten him away. Telemachus is finally reunited with Eucharis who explains to him Proteus's wiles (end of Act II). In Act III, Telemachus, having been given a sleeping draught, is found by Calypso. She prepares to dispatch him with a sword for being unfaithful to her, but as he awakens she loses her nerve and runs off, bidding him leave the island. Proteus now appears in his own shape and prepares to seize Telemachus for his own purposes. Mentor providentially arrives as described above and solves the dilemma.

The opera is more sensible than the description implies. The episodes succeed each other logically and aside from the numerous transformations is dramatically coherent. Telemachus is humanly weak, pulled this way and that by his emotions of the moment, refusing to heed Mentor's advice, but finally rescued by his protector. Calypso is imperious and vengeful. We can, if we wish, see in her the older woman (although a goddess) superseded by a younger rival.

The verse is lyric and pleasing. Many lines are reminiscent of Gay in 'Acis and Galatea':

Pursue, pursue the flying Fair.
Tho' she fly thee
'Tis to try thee;
'Tis a Folly to despair.

or:

Let not Pleasure's Charms undo thee;
Trust not the deluding Joy.
Tho' the Siren softly woo thee
Gaily smiling
And beguiling
She'll thy nobler Bliss destroy.

It is interesting to see how Hughes follows the Italian operatic conventions: only five characters, three men and two women; exits after the end of most arias; many *da capo* arias; duets at the end of Acts I and II; no choruses; plenty of opportunity for stage business; soliloquies. The score of the music does not seem to have survived, but the songs were printed by Walsh and Hare in 1712.²¹ As with

²¹ 'Songs in the Opera of Calypso and Telemachus/as they are Perform'd/at the Queen's Theatre./Composed by/Mr. Galliard/the Words by Mr. Hughes. Printed for J: Walsh . . . J. Hare: London' [1712], fol.

most Walsh prints, they admittedly give a very imperfect view of the music, since the recitative is lacking and the orchestration is generally compressed to a vocal line and bass or to a vocal line, violins, and bass. (In some instances, oboes are included. A charming air by Eucharis at the beginning of Act II is supported by an oboe solo *obbligato*, reminiscent of Bach.)

In general, Galliard proves to be a much more able composer in this work than he does elsewhere. The songs are pleasantly varied: several dance-like, two part arias sounding like Purcell; a few well-constructed airs on an ostinato bass; several cavatinas and ariosi, and one fine *aria di bravura*. His style has a German solidity worthy of Handel. In one or two instances—cadences, a melodic figure—it is Handel speaking; but a number of the pieces are too regular. Once a figure is found, Galliard is often reluctant to let it go. The clichés of the period are too prominent—a failing of the minor composer. Yet several songs are quite attractive, particularly a C minor lament of Telemachus for his father in Act I on a chromatic, descending bass: "If in Elysian Plains he roves, and silent wanders thro' the Groves; / O let me thither be convey'd! / I'll die to meet his happy Shade". And there are two splendid 6/8 airs in Act II: 'O Cupid, gentle boy' and 'From me, from thee he turns his Eyes'. The second of these (in G major) is sung by Mentor to Calypso and was evidently popular enough to be reprinted by Walsh in single sheet form, as were two other songs from the opera. (Mentor's part was taken by a woman, Mrs. Pearson, presumably because he assumed the form of Minerva in the last scene and had a big aria.) The text of this song is one of Hughes's ablest:

From me, from thee he turns his Eyes;
 To lonely Glades
 To distant Shades
 From me, from thee he flies.
 He glows, he burns with new Delight;
 What can inspire
 This wondrous Fire?
 What Charms, than thine more Bright? D.C.

Burney had a good deal to say about 'Calypso'.²² He felt it failed because the singers were not of the first rank²³, the dramatic incidents

²² Burney, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 680-1.

²³ The cast was: Calypso—Margarita de l'Épine, an Italian singer who had been in England for a number of years and eventually married Pepusch:

"Bedford to hear her song his dice forsakes,
 And Nottingham is raptur'd when she shakes:
 Lull'd statesmen melt away their drousey cares
 Of England's safety in Italian airs";

were not interesting enough, and the sentiments were too serious for a place of amusement. However, he praises the dialogue and songs as being "very superior to those of any translated opera of that period".

Addison in *The Spectator* No. 405²⁴ casts a friendly eye on the opera by way of the great Nicolini, whom he is praising for his dramatic and musical talents:

The Town is highly obliged to that Excellent Artist, for having shewn us the *Italian* Musick in its Perfection, as well as for that generous Approbation he lately gave to an Opera of our own Country, in which the Composer endeavoured to do Justice to the Beauty of the Words, by following that Noble Example, which has been set him by the greatest Foreign Masters in that Art.

Perhaps the greatest compliment of all, which also comes in a roundabout way, is one quoted by Loewenberg.²⁵ William Kitchener or Kitchiner (1775?-1827), doctor, scientist, epicure, music-lover, wrote on the back of his copy of the 'Songs in . . . Calypso and Telemachus', sold in Julian Marshall's sale, 29 July 1884, the following comment: "Dr. Arnold told me M^r Handell had so high an opinion of Calypso and Telemachus as to have declared he would sooner have composed it than any one of his own Operas. W.K. 1813". Since Arnold is said to have been known by Handel and advised by him as a boy²⁶, the information is probably fairly reliable. Whatever the opinions, and there have been one or two more recent ones²⁷, the work was a genuine attempt to prove that opera in English was as feasible as opera in Italian. Although the taste of the time did not accept it, preferring lighter entertainment or the glamour of the foreign import, it deserves a better fate than just a few contemptuous passing words. We may look on it as an unusual representative of that peculiar art-form which has fascinated audiences from that day until this.

Eucharis—Signora Manina; Telemachus—Mrs. Barbier, a well-known English singer of that day, on whose leaving the stage in 1717 Hughes wrote a poem (Hawkins, 'A General History . . . of Music', v, pp. 156-7); Mentor—Mrs. Pearson; Proteus—Richard Leveridge, the famous bass singer whose long career stretched from Restoration times—Purcell wrote 'Ye twice ten hundred deities' for him—up to the middle of the eighteenth century. As a song writer, he wrote 'The roast beef of old England'. He was the only man in the cast.

²⁴ *The Spectator* (Everyman Edition), iii, p. 260.

²⁵ 'Annals of Opera', *op. cit.*, p. 127.

²⁶ 'Dictionary of National Biography' (London, 1885), ii, p. 111.

²⁷ W. H. Cummings, 'The Lord Chamberlain and Opera in London, 1700-1740', in 'Proceedings of the Musical Association', xl (1913-14), p. 58. For further comments on the work, see Letter xvii, David Mercator, Esq. to Mr. Hughes, 22 May 1714 ('Letters by Several Eminent Persons . . .', [1772], i, p. 59 and Letter lxxxvii, From the Rev. Dr. Watts ('Letters', *op. cit.*, i, p. 220).

HANDEL AND THE JEWS

BY ALEXANDER L. RINGER

"It was only in Handel's music", Nietzsche stated once in his categorical manner, "that the best in Luther and in those like him found its voice, the Judeo-heroic trait which gave the Reformation a touch of greatness, the Old Testament, *not* the New, become music."¹ To those who have come to identify the spirit of Luther in music with the church music of J. S. Bach these blunt words of an avowedly anti-Christian philosopher must necessarily sound blasphemous. But not only could Nietzsche have quoted substantial historical evidence to support his emphasis on the social and political aspects of the Reformation at the expense of the religious, he could also have shown that, indirectly at least, Handel's later concern with the Jewish heritage was an outgrowth of his youthful experiences in predominantly Lutheran Halle.

At the time of Bach and Handel German Lutheranism was deeply split into two opposing camps, both of which had reason to rely on the authority of Luther himself. Traditional orthodoxy, reflecting the German sense of discipline and authority, defined Lutheranism in terms of religious dogma and formal institutions. The Pietists, so-called, smaller in number but studious, eloquent, and romantic Germans at heart, pleaded for a Christianity of mercy, devoted to the continuous improvement of the human condition on earth. Whereas orthodox practice was inclined toward the teachings of the ageing Luther, which included some openly antisemitic statements, Pietism favoured his earlier strongly humanistic views. Bach was brought up in an orthodox milieu and, though "a semi-pietist by his personal fervour, mystic reading matter and feeling for scripture, . . . was, nevertheless, strongly attached to Lutheran orthodoxy. . . . What savoured of Pietism in the religion of his choice came to him far less from its innovators than from his nature which was so profoundly German".² Handel, on the other hand, was born and raised in Halle, one of the principal strongholds of early Pietism, and eventually studied at Halle University, which was governed by some of the movement's most important intellectual leaders. Religious tolerance

¹ 'Nietzsche contra Wagner', in 'Complete Works', ed. by Oscar Levy, viii (London, 1924), pp. 63-4.

² André Pirro, 'J. S. Bach', transl. by Mervyn Savill (New York, 1957), p. 36.

was inseparable from the spirit of Halle Pietism. Philip Jacob Spener, the founder of the movement, preached that "Christian love . . . is to be practised with Jews as well as Christians".³ As a result the condition of the local Jewish community improved markedly wherever Pietism took a firm hold. Many Pietists actively sought cultural contact with the Jews, if only because their conversion was considered of paramount importance. In Halle, where a new Jewish community had been formed by decree of the Grand Elector when Handel was only three years old⁴, Spener's disciple August Hermann Francke created a special office for Jewish affairs, out of which grew in 1728 the Institutum Judaicum directed by Johann Heinrich Callenberg, Professor of Theology at the University and like Francke an excellent Hebrew scholar.⁵

Although some sarcastic orthodox critics went so far as to predict the imminent fraternization of Jews and Pietists on account of what they considered self-evident spiritual affinities⁶, the Jews of Halle, having recently returned after 250 years of exile, remained understandably careful in dealing with their Gentile neighbours. Taking into consideration also the strongly authoritarian attitude of his father it seems unlikely that young Handel's personal contacts with Jews or Pietistic philosemitism much antedated his student time. Like the Catholic minority, the Jewish community provided for a school of its own. Handel in all probability attended the orthodox Stadtgymnasium instead of the private school founded by the Pietists. It is noteworthy, however, that the nature of his pre-university schooling has never been conclusively determined, since his name does not occur in the preserved records of either institution.⁷ Next to Latin the rudiments of Hebrew were, in fact, taught at both schools, and all the boys became thoroughly acquainted with the Old Testament. Crucial differences entered only in the all-important matter of interpretation, which pitted Pietistic humanitarianism against orthodox pessimism and self-effacing humility. For the relatively brief duration of his University studies Handel's conscious immersion in Pietistic thought is a matter of record. Halle University

³ Koppel S. Pinson, 'German Pietism and the Jews', in 'Freedom and Reason', ed. by Salo W. Baron, Ernest Nagel and Koppel S. Pinson (Glencoe, Ill., 1951), p. 404. According to Spener "the remembrance of their extraction makes it fitting that we show our love to them more than to others".

⁴ 'Encyclopedia Judaica', vii (Berlin, 1931), p. 874.

⁵ Pinson, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

⁶ Hans Joachim Schoeps, 'Philosemitismus in Barock' (Tübingen, 1952), p. 68, n. 2.

⁷ Rolf Hünicken, 'Georg Friedrich Händel, Abstammung und Jugendwelt' (Halle, 1935), reviews the matter in detail. Though definitely biased in favour of the traditional view that Handel attended the Stadtgymnasium, this presentation, too, remains inconclusive (see p. 52).

was one of the very few Central European institutions of higher learning willing to admit an occasional Jewish student like Salomon Jacobsen of Hamburg, who obtained a medical degree in the late 1730's.⁸ Most other eighteenth-century German university towns were particularly notorious for their antisemitism, as indeed they have been in more recent times. The famous German Jewess, Glueckel of Hameln, for example, recalled in her memoirs that Helmstaedt near Hildesheim was "the seat of a university and hence a bad place for Jews".⁹

In 1702, the year he registered at the University, Handel assumed also the position of organist at the local Reformed church. It was typical of the general atmosphere of tolerance that reigned in Halle at that time that nobody, least of all himself, seemed to foresee any potential trouble arising from his personal Lutheran background. And the same non-parochial attitude enabled him only a short time later to switch unfettered by pangs of conscience from the Reformed services of the last Halle year to the Lutheran Passion music composed for Hamburg, then to the appropriately sumptuous church music written in Roman Catholic Italy, and finally to the simple majesty of the Anglican anthems. The years subsequent to Handel's affiliation with Halle University certainly tend to support Percy Young's feeling that "while his academic attainments may have been slight, he could hardly have remained impervious to the new liberalism of thought which characterized the foundation".¹⁰ As a matter of fact, it would be difficult to discount these youthful experiences as important factors in his ultimate decision to settle in England, in his own words, "a country where no man suffers any molestation or inconvenience on account of his religious principles".

Handel arrived in Hamburg six years after the city had passed a special ordinance determining the civil status of the Jews living within its confines. For a young man committed already to the kind of *Herzensreligion* which caused the Pietistic founder of the Moravian Brethren half a century later to exclaim, "I don't suffer myself to become prejudiced against any person"¹¹, the treatment accorded Hamburg Jewry must have been a source of considerable anguish and irritation. Thanks to close ties with their co-religionaries elsewhere, especially in Amsterdam, some of the Jewish merchants

⁸ Cf. M. Grunwald, 'Hamburgs Deutsche Juden' (Hamburg 1904), p. 61.

⁹ 'The Memoirs of Glückel of Hameln', transl. with introduction and notes by Marvin Lowenthal (New York and London, 1932), p. 108.

¹⁰ Percy M. Young, 'Handel' (London, 1947), p. 8.

¹¹ Pinson, *op. cit.*, p. 410. Curiously, the quotation is from Zinzendorf's English 'Exposition', published in London in 1755.

had become relatively wealthy and contributed greatly toward the city's economic welfare. But in the social and even the religious spheres their activities were severely curtailed by the very statutes that guaranteed their existence. According to the 1710 revision of the ordinance they were prevented from building their own house of worship, and among other things were not allowed "to show any luxury in dress, or produce plays or comedies, or hold public processions" or to "appear in public on any occasion bringing forth crowds of people, such as executions, state funerals, celebrations, etc".¹²

Does it seem plausible under these conditions that after Keiser's financial collapse in 1706 the Hamburg opera house "passed into the hands of a Jew, Johann Saurbrey"?¹³ It was this Saurbrey, characterized by Newman Flower as "a gentleman who, if he ever possessed an artistic soul, had long since pawned it to commerce",¹⁴ who paid Handel so handsomely for the two lost operas, 'Florindo' and 'Daphne', that he was able to travel to Italy. In view of the discriminatory city ordinance which, though written in this form several years later, undoubtedly reinforced the *status quo*, this adventurous impresario could hardly have been a Jew. True, no special mention is made of opera, but the prohibition of "plays or comedies" produced by Jews would seem to cover that contingency as well. Then, too, Saurbrey's given names, Johann Heinrich, are purely Christian in derivation, whereas Judeo-German and Hebrew names were current among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Hamburg Jewry. It is possible, of course, that they were the assumed names of a man recently converted to Christianity, who continued to be haunted by his Jewish ancestry, like Mendelssohn, Heine or Mahler in later centuries. Even so, there appears to be no historical foundation for the remark recently put into the mouth of the mature Handel:

I owe them [the Jews] gratitude since my early days. That good, unforgettable individual, Johann Saurbrey, let me make enough money with my music at the time so I could dare go into the world, to Italy.¹⁵

For all we know, the bigotry of Hamburg's citizenry may have been a contributing cause of Handel's departure. His actual Jewish

¹² Quoted by Marvin Lowenthal in his introduction to 'The Memoirs of Glückel of Hameln', p. xxii.

¹³ Newman Flower, 'George Frideric Handel' (Boston and New York, 1923), p. 58. The latest revised edition (1959) leaves this as well as Mr. Flower's other views quoted in this article unchanged.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Ernst Flessa, 'Ombra mai fu . . . Die Händel-Chronik des Johann Christopher Smith' (Bieberach an der Riss, 1958), p. 323.

contacts, on the other hand, were probably negligible, at least as compared with those of an experienced traveller like Mattheson, his friend and temporary foe, who during a trip to Holland in 1704 "gave a number of important concerts in the Dule in the presence of the magnificent Portuguese Jews, who behaved like kings and queens".¹⁶

His pockets filled with the money received from Saurbrey Handel left for Italy in 1706 without waiting to see his two operas performed. Italian Jewry led an even more miserable existence in the eighteenth-century ghettos of the cities which owed so much to the Jews of the Renaissance, a period when relative freedom was enjoyed by Jewish merchants and physicians, as well as musicians. At the time of Handel's visit to Rome one of the few regular sources of income of its destitute Jewish community was the manufacture of beds and mattresses, an unhealthy occupation which the Gentile population wished to have as little to do with as possible. From 1698 onwards the bedding for the Papal soldiers was furnished exclusively by the ghetto.¹⁷ Ramazini, in his pioneering treatise on occupational disease, has described the incredible sweatshop conditions, under which men, women and children slaved to produce thousands of mattresses yearly. Strangely enough, we would know next to nothing about Handel's whereabouts during the composition of his second oratorio, 'La Resurrezione', if it were not for a few matter-of-fact entries in the 1708 household books of Prince Ruspoli: "18th March, Payment for transport of the bed and other things for Monsú Endel 20 baiocchi", and "Payment to the Jew for a month's hire of the said bed and linen coverlets 60 baiocchi"¹⁸; finally, on 30 April: "For return of the Jew's bed, hired for Monsú Endel [scudi] 20".¹⁹

Soon after the carnival season Handel undertook his second journey to Venice. The Venetian ghetto looked back upon a glorious history of cultural activities. It was there that Rabbi Leone da Modena, the eloquent apologist for Salomone Rossi's polyphonic synagogue music, had founded a thriving musical academy at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Concerts and plays performed within the narrow confines of the ghetto attracted non-Jewish visitors from near and far, in spite of determined clerical opposition.²⁰ Especially famous was the story of Esther, Haman and Mordecai,

¹⁶ Johann Mattheson, 'Grundlagen einer Ehrenpforte', ed. by Max Schneider (Berlin, 1910), p. 192.

¹⁷ Cecil Roth, 'The History of the Jews of Italy' (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 375.

¹⁸ Otto Erich Deutsch, 'Handel, A Documentary Biography' (London, 1955), p. 21.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁰ Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 392. A seventeenth-century Jewish writer noted that the Venetians were "more pleasing and kindly with the Jews than any other in the world" (*ibid.*, p. 393).

presented with true oriental splendour on the festival of Purim. The celebration of Purim nearly always falls within the period of Lent, when the theatres of Venice were closed. It is not surprising that Christians were unusually appreciative of this particular attraction and attended in large numbers. If Handel was still in Venice at the time of Purim in 1710—and there seems to be no evidence to the contrary—this annual performance of 'Haman and Mordecai' may well have been among the very last impressions he carried with him from Italy to Germany and England. If so, this characteristically democratic production in the manner of an opera furnished him with a prototype of the Biblical masque even before he reached the shores of the country in which he was to find his artistic fulfilment. Unquestionably the ghetto play with its dramatic realism, its sense of historical identification, its flesh and blood quality, as it were, corresponded infinitely better with Handel's own artistic temperament than the more contemplative Biblical narratives of Carissimi, with which he had acquainted himself in Rome. Ten years later at Cannons Handel staged the piece that was to become the stepping stone toward his ultimate achievement as an English oratorio composer, his own 'Haman and Mordecai'. The exact circumstances which prompted the composer to adopt this particular libretto have remained obscure. It is usually "supposed to have been conceived by Arbuthnot and executed by Pope".²¹ But if Handel witnessed the tale of Jewish victory, as sung and acted in the Venice ghetto, he may well have felt the desire to recreate the story for himself.

It has been said in connection with 'Esther' (the later version of 'Haman and Mordecai') that Handel was possessed of "more than a merely artistic sympathy toward this people and a strong humanitarianism may legitimately be felt to underlie the presentation of the plot".²² No doubt this remark could be extended to cover his entire dramatic oratorio output. What made the English social framework of the early eighteenth century so particularly conducive to Handel's artistic aims was precisely that it permitted him, brought up as he had been with the Pietistic teachings of sympathy for the Jewish people, to make the next logical step on his own and identify the Jewish cause with the humanitarian strivings of an era dedicated to social progress. Nor did Handel confine himself to a realistic choice of librettos and forms of artistic expression in line with the religious

²¹ Julian Herbage, 'The Oratorios', in 'Handel, a Symposium', ed. by Gerald Abraham, p. 77.

²² Percy M. Young, 'The Oratorios of Handel' (New York, 1950), p. 54.

orientation of the Anglican community and the political ambitions of his royal patrons. Rather, his preoccupation with a persecuted minority, his relentless glorification of their ancient greatness, reflected the measure of his sense of humanity and his unshakeable faith in the possibility of human progress.

Orthodox critics have always insisted that "one of the consequences of the Pietistic movement, which placed pious desires and emotions before the pure doctrine, was an increased amount of rationalizing that finally opened the way to Rationalism".²² No doubt the rise of German Pietism could be interpreted as but another facet of the enlightened liberalism that was to find its political fulfilment in the American and French revolutions. The permanent imprint of Handel's early contacts with Pietism was in any case deep enough to enable him, who never lost his heavy Saxon accent, not only to assimilate quickly and easily the democratic tendencies of the English people, but to become the musical high priest of their moral aspirations. Already in 'Esther' the democratic ideal of freedom is clearly expressed: "He plucks the mighty from his seat and cuts off half his days". Eventually, the religious convictions of the Old Testament, and the social philosophy of the Enlightenment combined with the political ambitions of his adopted fatherland into such mighty anticipations of the spirit of the subsequent revolutionary era as "Oh liberty, thou choicest treasure, seat of virtue, source of pleasure" in the 'Occasional Oratorio'. And the resulting heroic style with its march rhythms, melodic straightforwardness and basic harmonic simplicity was to furnish three generations of composers with effective antidotes against the ornamental patterns of the *style galant* no less than the unbridled emotionalism of the pre-Romantic *Sturm und Drang*.

The social and economic situation of English Jewry, as Handel found it upon arrival, formed a marked contrast to what he had known on the Continent. Since their restoration to English soil in the days of Cromwell the Jews had been permitted to engage freely in trade and most of the professions. The London Exchange admitted twelve Jewish brokers, mostly of Portuguese origin, as early as 1697.²³ In 1718 the Attorney General decided that there was nothing to prevent Jews from owning land, and since for practising Jews this was of little avail, as long as the required Oath of Abjuration included the words "on the true faith of a Christian", they were permitted in

²² 'Lutheran Cyclopedia' (Saint Louis, 1954), p. 819.

²³ James Piciotto, 'The Early Days of the Great Synagogue', in 'Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History', ed. by Israel Finkelstein (London, 1956), p. 412.

1723 to drop this objectionable phrase.²⁵ In 1741, the year of Handel's last operatic venture as well as 'Samson' and 'Messiah', de Wetlogan could assert with a good deal of justification that English Jews enjoyed "the privileges of a christian subject, few excepted, only for form sake and which are of little or no signification".²⁶ True, much of this exceptional attitude toward the Jews, whose number was estimated in 1738 as no more than 6,000 souls²⁷, issued from enlightened self-interest rather than a purposeful equalitarian philosophy. Jewish merchants contributed significantly to the rising national income, and the Jewish brokers made their marks on financial policy, both private and public. The Duke of Chandos, for example, for whom Handel wrote 'Haman and Mordecai', had made "fantastic sums" with the help of Moses Hart, the founder of the Great Synagogue in Duke's Place.²⁸ After the bursting of the South Sea Bubble it was Sampson Gideon, the "oracle of change alley", who as Walpole's principal adviser did most to restore public confidence in the Government's solvency.²⁹

Handel himself had daily dealings with Jews not only in matters of business, since several of his bankers were Jewish, but of music as well. For many years the Veronese Giacomo Cervetto was his faithful cellist, in spite of popular joking about his famous long nose. He knew Hannah Norsa, whose remarkable performance of Polly Peachum in the 'Beggar's Opera' unwittingly helped him on to the road to oratorios. And he must have been acquainted with Solomon Rieti, another Italian Jew, who laid out the Ranelagh pleasure gardens in 1742.³⁰ But whatever his feeling toward individuals, it was his concern with the history and destiny of the Jews as God's people that gave focus to his musical outlook just as it had determined the creative imagination of his favourite painter, Rembrandt, a century earlier. "In his psalms", Chrysander once observed,

we do not have a reflection of the church Lied, nor the musical echo of an edifying Bible interpretation, nor the mirror of a church secret: but we do find in them the life of the ancient people, which saw itself saved through marvellous deeds, miraculously preserved and out of nothing made rich and powerful.³¹

²⁵ Cecil Roth, 'A History of the Jews in England' (Oxford, 1941), p. 213.

²⁶ Elkan N. Adler, 'History of the Jews in London' (Philadelphia, 1930), p. 121. Ernst H. Meyer's observation that "in Handel's day English Jewry was oppressed and without any rights" ('Aufsätze über Musik', Berlin, 1957, p. 34) is historically untenable.

²⁷ D'Blossiers Tovey, 'Anglia Judaica' (Oxford, 1738), p. 302.

²⁸ Hugo Leichtentritt, 'Händel' (Stuttgart & Berlin, 1924), p. 113.

²⁹ Cecil Roth, 'Anglo-Jewish Letters' (London, 1938), p. 130.

³⁰ Roth, 'History of the Jews in England', p. 209.

³¹ Friedrich Chrysander, 'G. F. Händel', i (Leipzig, 1919), p. 469.

The history of eighteenth-century English Jewry furnished Handel with a living demonstration of those very qualities which, as I have tried to suggest, may well have aroused his youthful enthusiasm at a much earlier time. His deeply rooted admiration for, and understanding of, the heroic history of ancient Israel became inseparable from his respect and friendship for the Jews whom he had come to know personally. Nowhere did this unique tendency find a more powerful expression than in that apotheosis of freedom with which Handel gave thanks to God and his adopted fatherland after the passing of a crisis which had threatened the very foundations of its existence—'Judas Maccabeus'.

Ostensibly and from the outset, its librettist tells us, "the plan of 'Judas Maccabeus' was designed as a compliment to the Duke of Cumberland, upon his returning victorious from Scotland".³² But why Thomas Morell and Handel selected Yehuda Maccabi, a post-biblical figure of Jewish national, rather than universal religious, significance, as the symbol most suitable for their celebration of the Duke's cruel but decisive victory over the Jacobite rebels, has never been satisfactorily explained. According to Newman Flower it was "by accident rather than design" that Morell had chosen a Jew for the hero".³³ But no evidence in support of this unconvincing assertion is advanced. Later on in the same paragraph the same writer declares that "a Jew on the stage as a hero rather than a reviled figure was a thing practically unknown in London". If so, Handel's 'accident' would seem to signify an important historical step. Actually, as Winton Dean has pointed out, thanks to Handel's prior work there was "nothing new in this; Mordecai, Barak, Joad, David, Samson and Joseph had received their meed of honour".³⁴ Indeed, the novelty of 'Judas Maccabeus' derived not so much from the subject itself as from its open identification with the immediate national cause of England and, more than that, a specific member of the royal family. Favoured by the prevailing political climate this bold experiment proved eminently successful, and a year later Handel did not hesitate to render homage to the King himself in the thinly disguised figure of Solomon.

In the light of historical circumstances the choice of 'Judas Maccabeus' was anything but an accident. True, it was the 'Butcher' Cumberland who had led the English troops to victory at Culloden, but had it not been for the courage and patriotic devotion of the

³² Deutsch, *op. cit.*, p. 851.

³³ Flower, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

³⁴ Winton Dean, 'Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques' (London, 1959), p. 471.

Jews of London, the home front might have collapsed long before Cumberland was able to rally the necessary military strength. How conscious the people of England were of this often neglected fact is evident from the innumerable pamphlets published several years later when the Jewish Naturalization Bill aroused a violent public controversy. Nearly every author writing in favour of the Bill cites details of the selfless manner in which London's Jews helped to stave off national disaster during the panic that took hold of the city in 1745. Thus we are told that

'T was at this Time, our Credit was sinking; a continual Run on the Bank had so drained our Specie, that many apprehended they would stop payment: The Jews were particularly industrious, in importing specie, all which they immediately and zealously brought to the Bank, and thereby contributed greatly to the Establishment of its Credit, not only by the Sums they brought in, but by raising the Spirits of the People, who by seeing such Treasure convey'd to the Bank, with such entire Confidence, at first slackened the Demand for Money, and by Degrees, the general confidence of mankind was established.²⁵

After recalling how people soon vied for the honour of carrying the Jews' money to the Bank the author asks:

Had our Credit failed us, which was one of our greatest Resources, to extricate ourselves from the dangerous State we were in, what could we have expected less than the total Ruin of the State, the Loss of our Religion, Properties, and Lives?²⁶

When an association was formed to counteract the enemy's discount sales of bank notes, the Jews signed to a man. "How many, who pretend to Christianity, acted otherwise, I am ashamed to mention", the author comments.

Meanwhile, due to the neglect and unpreparedness of the Navy the English expeditionary force was greatly hampered in its efforts to reach Scotland by sea. In this emergency, too, the Jewish merchants stepped in, putting at the government's disposal all their ships anchored in the Thames, completely fitted out at their own cost. And those who had nothing to offer save their lives "enrolled their Names in the City Militia, and appeared on all Occasions on their Duty neglecting their customs, which lead them never to bear Arms, but on Emergencies".²⁷ (Here the author obviously confuses the

²⁵ 'Considerations on the Bill to Permit Persons professing the Jewish Religion to be Naturalized by Parliament—in Several Letters from a Merchant in Town to his Friend in the Country' (London, 1753), p. 42.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Sabbath law with a non-existing general injunction.) "Nothing, but a true sense of Duty, and their interests being link'd with that of the State, could have brought them to expose themselves, to inevitable Destruction for the support of it".³⁸

The anonymous author of this brief on behalf of the Jews of England was right. Thanks to the enlightened self-interest of a society which considered the Jewish contribution to trade and banking as indispensable to the country's welfare, their interests were indeed "linked with that of the State", a state which only the year before had intervened with Maria Theresia on behalf of their Bohemian brethren. Certain of their position under the House of Hanover, English Jews were understandably apprehensive about "what Continental conceptions the Stuarts might have inbibed".³⁹ Whatever their motives may have been, the role played by the Jews of London in securing ultimate victory was so outstanding and universally recognized that, possibly for the first time in modern history, a Jew was asked to join the delegation that presented the City's congratulations after the cessation of hostilities.⁴⁰ Is it too far-fetched under these circumstances to consider the choice of Yehuda Maccabi as the composer's personal way of giving joint credit to the military hero and the minority group that had done so much to make his victory possible? The Jews themselves, it would seem, received 'Judas Maccabeus' in precisely this spirit; for never before, indeed never again, did their attendance and enthusiastic support of a Handel work reach similar proportions. For his part, Handel never forgot that it was their enthusiasm which carried him back to popular favour at a time when "his old supporters in Society still kept aloof, dreaming of ancient enmities".⁴¹ The oratorio was given six times during the remainder of the 1747 season and thirty times altogether in the course of Handel's lifetime.

Characteristically, the Jews failed to flock in equal numbers to the two subsequent oratorios through which Handel hoped to ride on the wave of success enjoyed by 'Judas'. Neither 'Alexander Balus', which exploits the Jewish setting for the often banal love story between the Syrian king and Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, nor 'Joshua', with its emphasis on aggression and conquest, equally diluted by conventional love scenes, aroused the same collective

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³⁹ Roth, 'History of the Jews in England', p. 205.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁴¹ Flower, *op. cit.*, p. 298. Young's contention ('The Oratorios', p. 155) that 'Judas Maccabeus' "caught the enthusiasm of the London Jewish community . . . by accident" is untenable in the light of the above circumstances.

feeling of pride in their contribution to freedom. The fact that 'Alexander Balus' was an uneven work, whereas 'Joshua' produced some of Handel's finest choral writing, failed to influence the Jewish response one way or the other.

After the Jacobite invasion nothing expressed public feeling like 'Judas Maccabeus'. Its heroic musical language and the confident optimism that emanated from its story were admirably attuned to the emotional climate into which it was born. This is undoubtedly why the subtle identification of the English way of life with the Jewish cause had such far-reaching sociological and political consequences. The Jewish attitude during the trying period of 1745 was in itself a powerful argument in favour of the naturalization of foreign Jews living in England. But there can be no question that the favourable reception which the crucial Bill met with when it was first introduced by Lord Halifax in 1753 owed a great deal to the sustained effects of Handel's Jewish oratorios, especially 'Judas Maccabeus'. It is not without interest in this connection that the characterizations of Jews in English literature, hitherto uniformly unfavourable, began to show marked changes during the years immediately preceding the naturalization controversy, as witnessed, for example, by Smollett's development from the 'Adventures of Peregrine Pickle' (1751) to the 'Adventures of Count Fathom' (1753).⁴² After its initial passing the Bill was inevitably seized upon by the opposition to discredit the very Government with which the name of Handel was by then inextricably associated. But its defenders were quick in pointing out that the loyalty of the Jews in the days of the nation's gravest danger was a crime only "in the Eye of Jacobites, who will never forgive the Jews for having so largely contributed to break their Measures, and render all their pernicious schemes abortive".⁴³

Handel's personal position remained unequivocal to the end. In the wake of the success of 'Judas Maccabeus' his business dealings with the Jewish merchants of London increased markedly. From 1748 on, for example, the name of David Abarbanel, a leader of the Portuguese Jews, appears repeatedly among Handel's accounts at the Bank of England.⁴⁴ Finally, in 1756, insisting that he accept £200 "for the Care and Trouble he shall take in my affairs", Handel named as co-executor of his will George Amyand, presumably a Jewish merchant hailing from Hamburg, later M.P. for Barnstaple.⁴⁵

⁴² H. R. R. van der Veen, 'Jewish Characters in the 18th Century English Fiction and Drama' (Groningen, 1935), p. 41.

⁴³ 'The Jews Advocate' (London, 1753), p. 53.

⁴⁴ Deutsch, *op. cit.*, p. 837.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 776.

The Jews, on the other hand, knew well what they owed him. His life's work had opened up new opportunities for them, socially as well as politically. Indeed, it was as subscribers to Handel's concerts that they became active patrons of music in England.

Perhaps the most fitting tribute of the Jewish community came one Friday afternoon seven years after Handel's death. The solemn occasion was the rededication of the Great Synagogue in Duke's Place on 29 August 1766, performed in the words of *The London Chronicle* "with the greatest pomp and solemnity in which the Chief and other eminent Rabbis belonging to the Portuguese Jewish nation assisted".⁴⁶ This ceremony, which was attended by numerous non-Jewish notables, set a number of precedents, including the reading of the prayer for the Royal Family in English instead of the customary Hebrew. But in all probability none of these could claim a symbolic significance quite equalling that of the central event of the proceedings, the performance of 'Handel's Coronation Anthem'. This piece, most likely 'Zadok the Priest', was rendered "by a numerous band of the most eminent musicians" who took part also in "several anthems, choruses, etc.". The officiating *hazzan* was Isaac Elias Polack, who led among other prayers a Hebrew hymn especially written by Rabbi Nahum Joseph Polak.⁴⁷ It is, of course, impossible to say whether he and the small choir which assisted him on such special occasions participated also in the Handel anthem. If so, this performance represents one of the very first of its kind. Not until more than half a century later did the use of non-Jewish music in the synagogue receive any kind of official sanction, and then only on the part of the growing Continental reform movement. If, on the other hand, the musicians involved were all non-Jews—and considering the instrumental forces required many must have been outsiders—the whole affair appears even more daring in the light of hallowed Jewish tradition. In fact, one is almost tempted to credit Handel with having planted, however unwittingly, the seeds of the far-reaching reforms which so thoroughly altered the nature and function of Jewish liturgical music in the nineteenth century. Characteristically, the nineteenth-century reform movement drew heavily on Handel's music, and to this day a number of European congregations intone portions of the Hallel prayer on Passover, the celebration of freedom gained from Egyptian slavery, to the strains of 'See, the conqu'ring hero comes'.

⁴⁶ *London Chronicle*, 30 August-2 September, 1766, p. 218.

⁴⁷ Cecil Roth, 'History of the Great Synagogue, London, 1690-1940' (London, 1950), p. 142.




SIR NICHOLAS LE STRANGE AND JOHN JENKINS







BY PAMELA WILLETTS








A REMARKABLE set of seventeenth-century manuscript music part-books (Add. 39,550-4) was bequeathed to the British Museum in 1917 by Dr. Thomas Lea Southgate. The volumes contain five- and six-part fancies (the *sextus* book is missing) by Ward, White, Ravenscroft, Cranford, the two Alphonso Ferraboscas, Dering, Byrd, Coprario and Lupo, and differ from most of the numerous collections of fancies still preserved in this country in the detailed and scrupulously careful annotations, entered on practically every leaf, collating the musical texts with those of a number of other contemporary manuscripts. The latter are referred to, apparently by the name of their owners, as: 'Sheppy', 'Barnard score:B:' (i.e. 'book', cf. Add. 39,552, fo. 31^v), 'Drury', 'Francklin', 'Dunn' and 'Donne 2d' (apparently two separate manuscripts, but whether two owners are indicated by the variant spellings is not clear), 'Couzens', 'Gibbs', 'Staersmoer' or 'Staresmore', 'Mr Fanshaw Score:b:', 'Pettus' and 'Pettus: 2d:copy', 'Bromall', 'Holland', 'Rampley', 'Fowler', 'Ives', 'Harman', 'Mr Collins' and 'Mr: Coleman'. In some of the copies of Ward's fancies the annotations refer to a 'Ward' manuscript (Add. 39,550, fo. 67^v, 68, etc.), although this is not included in the list of collation copies examined which is written at the end of each fancy. Add. 39,550-4 thus constitute a kind of master copy of a number of contemporary versions, and the identity of their compilers and annotators is a matter of some considerable interest.

It is at first glance difficult to determine how these volumes were compiled, since practically every page presents a variety of text- and music-hands. The textual notes are, however, often accompanied by brief musical illustrations or even by whole variant passages written out in score, and the music of such illustrations is written by the same hands as the copies of the fancies. There are, in fact, only three main hands, each of which has written part of the music as well as collation notes. I shall refer to them as follows:

Hand A. Music on fo. 7-11, 21-30 *passim*, and 71-79 of Add. 39,550 (and corresponding folios in the other volumes) and collation notes, mostly without musical illustrations, in various parts of the book.

The music is written in a rather delicate hand with pointed shaped notes; the G clef is , the C clef , and the bass clef . Titles, names of composers, and the comparatively few collation notes written in this hand are almost entirely in secretary script.

Hand B. Music on fo. 1-6, 12-20, 29^v, 30^v-70, 80-88, and collation notes, often with musical illustrations, throughout. A much bolder hand than A; the G clef is , the C clefs  , and the bass clef . The text-hand is a cursive italic type; characteristic letters are  and  (see facsimile I for samples of music- and text-hands).

Hand C. Music on fo. 28^v of Add. 39,550, 39,552, 39,553 (three of the five parts of an In Nomine by Byrd are in this hand) and collation notes, with musical illustrations, throughout. The music-hand is much less skilful than A or B; note-heads are round, the G clef is , the C clefs   , and the bass clef . The text-hand is a very neat, almost printed, type of italic hand. Some of the letters are similar to B's forms, but the  and  are characteristic. Few of the letters are joined together and the slope of the hand is more upright than B (see facsimile I).

The first two hands were obviously working closely together: nos. 1-11 of the five-part fancies by Ward in Add. 39,550-4 were copied by B and nos. 12-13 by A, while in a manuscript of the Royal College of Music (MS. 1145), written by the same hands (see section 1 below), nos. 1-15 of the five-part fancies by Jenkins are written by A, and B has added a pavan on a blank verso preceding them and nos. 16 and 17 at the end. A, B and C frequently annotate copies of music made by both A and B; the few complete pages of music transcribed by C are, however, annotated only by C. This third hand has standardized the appearance of the volumes and added explanatory notes to the annotations of A or B. Thus C enters the title 'Fancy' to many items, the Christian name 'Rich:' before Dering's name, the words 'score: B' by references to 'Barnard' which are generally written by B, and Italian titles to many of the Coprario fancies (mainly in the bass book). To B's note 'a#. in Brom' (Add. 39,554, fo. 38) C adds 'to the note before'; to B's note 'these 2 crotchets a third hier. in dru: b' (Add. 39,552, fo. 19) C adds a musical illustration marked 'thus'; to B's remark 'Thus Bar: b. but false' (ibid. fo. 42) C adds 'a crotch: too much'; to A's note 'these a semib Coz. b.' (Add. 39,554, fo. 73) C adds 'and Bar: B:', and so on. The index at the end of the bass book is the work of C. These revision marks by C, and the wording of some of the notes—for example, two passages of music scored by C, relating to a Coprario fancy transcribed by B on the facing page, are annotated respectively, by C, '4 sembr: before

the close, thus in Barn: B: and differing from mine in all the parts' and 'Thus in my Bookes' (Add. 39,554, fo. 35^v)—suggest either that C was the latest owner of the books, in succession to A + B (who evidently worked together), or that A and B were amanuenses working under the supervision of C. From the association together of the same three hands, or of B + C, in a number of other manuscripts, the latter seems the more likely alternative.

Other manuscripts by the same writers are:

1. Royal College of Music MS. 1145.¹ Three-part books—*cantus*, *altus* and *tenor*—remain from a set of five. In size, lay-out and styles of writing this set is very like Add. 39,550-4, and all three volumes retain brown paper covers marked with the letter 'H' similar to the front cover of Add. 39,550 which bears the letter 'I'. Collation notes of the same type as in Add. 39,550-4 occur throughout, the collation copies named being 'Barnard. score: B:', 'Couzens Score: B:', 'Harman', 'Mr: Collins:' 'Staresmore' and 'Rampley'. The two sets are complementary in content: for instance, Add. 39,550-4 contain nos. 3-9, 12, 14, 17, 25-28, 30 and 32 of Coprario's five-part fancies while RCM. 1145 contains nos. 1, 2, 10, 11, 13, 15-16, 19 (twice), 20, 22-24, 31, 34-35, 37-57.² They may, indeed, include all the known five-part fancies by Coprario. Although, according to Meyer's list, nos. 18, 29, 33 and 36 are missing, nos. 29, 36 and 18 are, in fact, the same works as nos. 5, 27 and 48, Meyer having quoted two separate themes of the same fancies as separate items. No. 33 is a similar case: Meyer apparently took his *incipit* from a keyboard score and has entered the first minim of the *altus* part before the real entry of the *cantus* part after a minim rest. His no. 33 is, in fact, the same as his no. 47. The two five-part In Nomines by Alphonso Ferrabosco junior in Add. 39,550-4 are supplemented by the third in RCM. 1145, and the latter set also contains fancies by Jenkins, Ford and other composers not included in the former, and pavans, almains and a galliard by Dering who is represented by fancies alone in the British Museum set.

The same hands occur as in Add. 39,550-4: A in the music on fo. 2-7, 8, 9, 10-24, 31-51 (rectos), again with titles and composers' names mainly in secretary script; B in the music on fo. 7^v, 8^v, 9^v, 25-30, 31^v-46^v (mainly on the versos), 55-57^v; C in the music on fo. 52^v-54. Each hand also occurs in the annotations and musical

¹ This manuscript and RCM. 921 mentioned below (section 3) are among the collection of music manuscripts belonging to the Royal College of Music on loan to the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum.

² The numeration of fancies used in this article is that of the thematic catalogue at the end of Meyer, 'Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts' (1934).

as for my owne part, I feare the diuell no more then
I feare one of you: and if I should meeete with him, I
would say, Honest Devil, I neuer did thee wrong, therefore
I know thou wilt not hurt me; I Marrye thine owne
Flesh and Blood; for my wife is a deuill.

535.

The Earle of Pemroke Chamberlaine, received a disgrace-
full switch ouer the face by a scottish King, his first coming
into England: the impression of which affront, so powerfully hit of,
remained in the Memorie of many, as it staine to his Honour, his
being at Bader in the Spring garden afterward, there grew an hot
contest betwixt this C. and S. K. Bell about the distance of a bowle
and so far, that the C. gave the K. the eye: S. K. startled
storme about, an in a well disguised, knowing how to wound him
stepe without a stroke, cryes out Give me a Switch: the come
my smild, and the conscious C. scornfully lighes And what
shalt you and that bee? Measure the cast, and beate you my
C. He warrant you, saye he.

536.

One m^r. Saunders, who, Ioud Musick so well, as he could not
endure to haue it interrupted with the least vnpleasant noise,
being at a meeting of Rancy Musick, only for the violas and
Organs, where many Ladies and Gentlemen resorted; some making
trumpets with not refraine their chaff, and last which, sometimes
dane the Instruments: He, impatient of such harsh discords as
they often entertaine, the lesson being ended, riseth with his hand
from his seat, and silently addressing himselfe towards them; And
sayes he, this Musick is not vocall, for on my knowledge, these
things were neuer made for words. and after that they had
not one word to say.

537.

Bayle godwin, a mad floure brain curate, being hardly off for his
content and disobedience to some ordinances of Parliament; and ex-
horting by a friend to patience, by the example of our saviour Christ
in rage and passion, I tell you sayes he; Christ neuer suffered himself
as I doe.

538.

and drury a recedent preacher, coming to Newham, chose
his text, Come vnto me All yea that are heavy laden
and I will saue you; but handled it so ill, as he said very
few of any charitable beneuolence.

II

Harley 6395, fol. 77. A page of Sir Nicholas Le Strange's
anecdotes. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the
British Museum.

illustrations throughout the volume, except that, once again, C's section is annotated only by C. There is further evidence that C is the owner of the volumes: fo. 32 (*cantus* book) contains two copies of a five-part fancy by Coprario, one at the top of the page transcribed by A, the second written by B on a piece of paper stuck over the bottom half of the leaf, with C's annotation: 'here the Tenor and 2^d Treb: beginne to change in my first copy', and he marks the relevant passage in both copies with a sign. Again, on fo. 34^v in the *altus* book is a copy by B of a Coprario fancy already transcribed by A on fo. 44; C comments: 'This was mistaken, and prickt before. pag: 91:' (i.e. the present fo. 44).

2. Add. 23,779. A copy of Coprario's fancy, almain and galliard suites for two trebles, bass and organ (score at fo. 2^v-34, organ part at fo. 37-62) and for one treble, bass and organ (organ score only at fo. 65^v-104). At the end of the suites in the first group are the notes: 'Examin: p: Origin: m^r Ligons.', and after most of those in the second group: 'Exam: by Barnards Score: B: 'm^r DERHAMS. Bo:' (page references to the latter manuscript are given). Two hands occur in the music copies: B on fo. 2^v-34 and 65^v-71, and D, a beautifully written calligraphic hand, with very pointed note-heads, on fo. 37-62 and 71^v-104, thus completing sections begun by B. The hands change at the organ part in the first group of suites and after the third suite in the second group. D has also compiled the index at fo. 35^v-36. The examination notes are by C throughout. Detailed collation notes with musical illustrations of the type found in Add. 39,550-4 and RCM. 1145 do not occur, except for two smaller leaves, entirely written by C, which are bound into the volume at fo. 63^v and 64 and relate to the copying of the suites for one treble, bass and organ. The first is headed 'False and Doubtful Places, betwixt m^r DERHAMS and my ORGAN Booke' and contains a series of musical illustrations; the second consists of miscellaneous notes, of considerable interest as examples of contemporary practice, including 'Cleffs Altered in Pricking, (Differing from the copy) or since; and b^s or #^s Sett to them, according to the Naturall Aire of the Lesson' and 'I[n]. F[ull]. S[core]. solecismes. and irregular b^s and #^s', and so on. A note at the foot of the page relating to the correction of the treble part by 'I:I' will be discussed later. A few corrections have been inserted into the music copied by both B and D. One (fo. 68, second stave from the bottom) appears to be in C's hand, and it may be that all the insertions are his. They consist mainly of time signatures.

3. Royal College of Music MS. 921. This manuscript warrants a lengthier description, since, until its recent restoration, it could not

be handled, and probably few scholars now living have had the opportunity of consulting it. Like many others in the Royal College of Music collection, it was formerly in the library of the Sacred Harmonic Society and was described in their first printed catalogue, published in 1853, under number 115 (of the manuscripts) as 'The Second Base part of a Collection of similar Compositions [i.e. similar to no. 114, the present RCM. 1145 described above], wholly by John Jenkins. This volume is imperfect, and much damaged, having been written with ink containing vitriol, or some similar ingredient . . .' By the time RCM. 921 was deposited in the British Museum in 1946, corrosion had reached such a stage that the leaves could not be turned without crumbling and the manuscript had, perforce, to be withdrawn from use. Recently, however, as part of the binding and repair programme which the Royal College of Music was able to initiate by means of a generous grant from the Pilgrim Trust, it was decided to examine the manuscript again with a view to restoration. It was found that by cutting the remains of the stitching which held the crumbling leaves together, they could with great care be slid off one by one and each was then placed temporarily between sheets of tissue paper. Many of the leaves were in at least three pieces, the inner and outer margins having become detached from the centre part of the folios, and a detailed schedule³ had to be drawn up, for the use of the binders, showing how the fragments were to fit together. The task was part aided, part hindered, by the pencil foliation entered by a former owner which proved to be inaccurate. Presumably the manuscript was already in pieces when he handled it, since he numbered one centre piece of music wrongly, so that some of the detached inner margins bearing the *custos*, time signature and a few annotations, became out of step with the music and the original pagination. Once the arrangement of the folios had been settled, the Wigmore Bindery were able to undertake the delicate task of treating the paper, joining the fragments together and gauzing, which has now been successfully accomplished.

The restored manuscript consists of the remains of one part-book containing the second bass part of twenty-one pieces, mainly called 'Aire' but including a few fantasies, grounds and pavans, for '2: DIVIS: BASES. AND ORGAN' and the treble part of seventeen airs, almains, corants, sarabands, etc., for treble, bass and organ. All are by Jenkins. Two other part-books containing the first bass and organ parts must once have existed but are now missing. There is a

³ This schedule and other papers relating to the restoration of the manuscript are preserved in a pocket at the end of the volume.

gap in the original pagination after the first group of pieces, of which no. 21 ends on page 59 (now fo. 44), and the beginning of the second group on page 68 (fo. 46). Possibly the first group once consisted of twenty-four items. At the end of the volume Corant no. 17 ends imperfectly and presumably a number of leaves are missing.

The same hands occur as in Add. 23,779: B on fo. 1^v-13 (nos. 1-6 of the pieces), D on fo. 14^v-18, 25^v-58^v, and C in most of the examination notes and lists of discrepancies between the present manuscript and 'Derh: Book:' (i.e. 'Mr. Derham's book', by analogy with Add. 23,779) entered on the otherwise blank versos of fo. 6, 8, 10 and 13. The latter are accompanied by musical illustrations, which I think are in C's hand, but they have been crossed through and the details are not easily seen. Some of the variants have been incorporated in the music: for example, on fo. 9^v, by holding the manuscript up to the light, it can be seen that the variant has been written in the margin by C (?), then entered by B on a piece of paper stuck over the top of the music and the earlier correction. I am not sure of the hand of fo. 19^v-24 (nos. 9-11 of the pieces); these may be by D but the clefs and *custos* are different and the note-heads are not so pointed. Corrosion of the ink and discoloration of the paper have blurred the pen strokes throughout this volume. The first group of pieces in RCM. 921 are marked as examined by 'Mr Jacobs: Bo:' 'm^r Derhams. Bo:' or 'Origin:'. C has added the explanatory words 's: Bo:' after 'Mr Jacob' written by B. In the second section of RCM. 921 references are given at the end of each item to the 'ORIG:' and in the form 'FAKENHAM—MVSICK. Num: 8' (cf. fo. 47). There are Fakenhams in both Norfolk and Suffolk, and Jenkins, as we know from Anthony Wood and Roger North, spent a considerable part of his life with families in East Anglia. The music may, indeed, have been written for performance at the fine Tudor manor-house at East Barsham, only a few miles from the Norfolk Fakenham, which passed in the reign of Charles I to James Calthorpe—a close relative, by his second marriage, of the Le Strange family who are known to have been patrons of Jenkins. Despite the imperfect condition of RCM. 921 the music may not be lost beyond recall. The sixth air in the second group of pieces entitled 'The PLEASING-SLVMBER' (fo. 48^v) is also to be found complete in Bodleian MS. Mus. Sch. c. 88, a set of part-books which seem to have belonged to the North family⁴; some of the other pieces may also be included in the latter set.

The following manuscript is described here because of its relation to D:

⁴ The covers are formed from legal documents relating to Sir Henry North.

4. Add. 31,428. A beautifully written copy of Jenkins's twenty-one fancies for two trebles and bass, entirely the work of D. A particular feature of this manuscript are the elaborate but delicate penwork ornaments at the end of each item. Similar ornamental endings are to be found in D's sections of Add. 23,779 and RCM. 921, although these are not so intricate. B also ornaments the ends of his copies in the same two manuscripts but his style is heavier. There are no collation notes in Add. 31,428, nor is there any trace of the hands of A, B or C. Christ Church 1005 is also in D's hand.

Hitherto the only suggestion as to the identity of any of the hands in these manuscripts was that made by Dr. Charles Burney, a former owner of Add. 39,550-4.⁵ He states that the collection was "made for the L' Estrange family in Norfolk, by . . . Mr. John Jenkins and collated with other copies not only by himself but by six or eight other eminent masters of the times". Burney further informs us that the volumes were presented to him by Nicholas Styleman.⁶ The latter was the son of Armine, widow of Nicholas Styleman and sister of Roger L' Estrange, the last baronet; she succeeded to the Hunstanton estates in 1762. Jenkins "lived much in the families of l'estrangle and Deerham" and it was probably a family tradition that he had written the volumes.⁷ However, the Hunstanton estates had passed to several members of the family since Jenkins's death in 1678 and his connection with the Le Strange household seems to have ended before 1660 when he went to live with the North family. Thus it is possible that the tradition was not altogether accurate. Burney does not indicate which of the three hands in Add. 39,550-4 was supposed to be that of Jenkins. None of them has any similarity to that of manuscripts often said to be Jenkins's autograph (Add. 31,423, 31,424, part of 31,436, etc., in the British Museum), but there seems good reason to doubt this attribution since another manuscript in the same hand (Add. 31,425) includes an item dated 1679, the year after Jenkins's death. There are other objections to considering hands A or B the autograph of Jenkins. A's copies of Jenkins's fancies in RCM. 1145 give the composer's name as 'Mr Jenkins'; the use of the honorific 'Mr' suggests that they are not autograph. Moreover B and C have thought it necessary to collate A's texts with manuscripts belonging to Barnard and Collins. B's few copies of Jenkins's works in RCM. 1145 and his many collation notes to A's copies refer to these same two manuscripts as if in doubt as to

⁵ Burney, 'A General History of Music' (1789), iii, p. 356.

⁶ Burney was organist at Kings Lynn from 1751-60 and may have met Nicholas Styleman at this time.

⁷ 'The Life and Times of Anthony Wood', ed. Clark (1882), p. 335.

the correct text, which would scarcely be the case were B the composer. Thus on fo. 18 of the *cantus* volume, B notes 'no flat: Coll:.' and on fo. 21 'a min: Coll:'. Similarly in RCM. 921, if B (the writer of fo. 1^v-13) had been the composer, would C have troubled to list discrepancies between this copy and Mr. Derham's manuscript? The music-hand of C seems too clumsy to be that of a professional musician and, in any case, a more plausible, if not completely proven, suggestion as to the identity of the writer of this hand and thus of the former owner of these manuscripts can now be made.

When I glanced recently at the manuscript entitled 'Merry Passages and Jeasts' (British Museum, Harley 6395), well known to Shakespearean scholars as the source of Shakespeare's *bon mot* when considering a suitable gift for his godchild, I recognized immediately the handwriting of C (see facsimile II). Comparison of the Harley manuscript with the sizeable portion of text on fo. 64 of Add. 23,779 confirmed that the writing was indeed the same. The identity of the compiler of Harley 6395 was established as long ago as 1839, when a selection of the stories were included in the volume of 'Anecdotes and Traditions', edited by W. J. Thoms for the Camden Society. The compiler refers frequently in the text of the stories, and particularly in the list of persons from whom he obtained them (fo. 89-91^v), to his friends and relations. By a detailed examination of these references in an introduction contributed to the Camden Society's volume J. G. Nichols was able to identify him as Sir Nicholas Le Strange, first baronet (1603-1655), the eldest brother of Roger Le Strange (1616-1704), the political journalist and later licenser of the press. The latter was also well-known as a skilful amateur musician. Nichols shows, for example, that the references 'my Bro: Ham:' (index to no. 180 of the stories), 'my Br: Roger' (index no. 179), 'My Sist: Eliz:' (index no. 262), 'My Sis: Ka: Lewk:' (index no. 370), 'my Grandmother Stubbe' (text no. 358), 'my Bro: Spring' (index no. 311), are to Sir Nicholas's brothers Hamon and Roger Le Strange, his sister Elizabeth, who married Sir William Spring ('my Bro: Spring?'), Catherine Lewkener, sister of Sir Nicholas's wife Ann, his maternal grandmother (his mother was the daughter of Richard Stubbe), and so on.* Nichols also suggests that the initials 'S:N:L:' which occur in the list of sources (for example, nos. 149, 150, 153) may be expanded to 'Sir Nicholas Lestrangle'. But since the initials also occur in different order as 'N:L:S:' (nos. 453, 466), 'S:L:' (nos.

* Catherine Lewkener married, before 1642, James Calthorpe who held the principal manor at East Barsham near Fakenham. I have already suggested that East Barsham Manor may have been the setting for a performance of the music in RCM. 921.

80, 81, 87, etc.) and 'S:N:' (no. 38), they may rather be anagrams of the initials of Nicholas Le Strange. No. 466, attributed to 'N:L:S:' certainly appears to be by him since it refers to his brother Hamon. The compiler also uses the form "teste me ipso" (no. 367).

It is difficult to consider Harley 6395 as anything other than the autograph manuscript of its compiler (apart from a few folios of later additions near the end). It can scarcely be the work of an amanuensis, for slight differences in the colour of the ink, thickness of the pen strokes, and sizes and forms of the letters suggest that it was a piecemeal compilation, probably made over a period of years. There are also frequent corrections and annotations, sometimes substituting one word for another, sometimes identifying a character in a story, or, again, adding a piece of information from another source, as in no. 86, the note entered at the end: "Mr Derham told me it was a Diall in London upon the Church where he was married". There appears to be no certain autograph of Sir Nicholas Le Strange in the British Museum which could be compared side by side with this volume and none has so far come to light in Norwich.* It seems, however, a reasonable hypothesis to identify him with C, the owner of all the manuscripts described above except Add. 31,428, and I shall refer to him as such for the remainder of this article. As will be seen, there is a certain amount of internal evidence in these manuscripts to support his claim.

That the compiler of Harley 6395 had more than a passing interest in music might have been suspected from the strongly musical flavour of a number of the anecdotes. Three of the musical stories, no. 536 relating to 'One m^r Saunders, who loved Musick so well', no. 543 relating to 'One m^r Homes of the Chappell, who sang very bravely' and no. 578 relating to 'Thom: Brewer, my Mus: Servant' are attributed to 'm^r Jenkins', presumably the composer himself; no. 360 regarding Francis Quarles and his lute case, and no. 361, an oft repeated story about Jack Wilson and the Lawes brothers, were both told by Thomas Brewer, whose name suggests the composer of fancies in Add. 31,423 and elsewhere; no. 179 relating to 'Rose the Old viole-maker' is by 'my Br: Roger'—that is, Roger Le Strange, himself a skilled viol-player. Other stories reveal the same interest in music, for instance, no. 351 which begins promisingly: "The Organist at Ely began a wrong Antheme, and the Bellow-blower was Drunke", no. 601 relating to 'A Difficult Division

* Miss M. Grace, the Archivist of the Norwich Public Libraries, kindly searched through a number of bundles of the so far uncatalogued Le Strange family papers in her charge.

Lesson', no. 589 about the viol part with many rests, and several others. An extended musical pun is used in no. 581 which describes two gentlemen followed by "a goodly Traine of Beggars, whose Broken Consort quite confounded the Harmonie of their private, and then serious, Discourse". Finally, 'Mr Steffkin'¹⁰ who contributed two stories (nos. 309, 310) about a German painter, may probably be identified with the "old Mr. Stephkins" (possibly Theodore Steffkin, musician for the viol in the Private Musick of Charles I and Charles II) who was a great friend of Jenkins in his old age.¹¹

The names of some of the owners of the music manuscripts used by Sir Nicholas for collating his own volumes also occur in the circle of friends and acquaintances mentioned in the Harley volume. Thus 'Sy: Ive' who appears as the source of anecdote no. 167 in the Harley manuscript is perhaps the same as the 'Ives' of Add. 39,550-4 and may most probably be identified with Simon Ives the composer and minor canon of St. Paul's. The two forms 'Donne' and 'Dun' occur in Harley 6395 as well as in Add. 39,550-4. If two people are referred to, one may be the celebrated poet and Dean of St. Paul's, particularly in view of the setting of story no. 26 (told by 'Donne') in 'Paules churchyard', the association of other names among Sir Nicholas's acquaintances with St. Paul's, and Donne's known connection with one branch of the Drury family (the Drurys of Hawstead in Suffolk). The 'Drury' mentioned as owning a musical manuscript in Add. 39,550-4 may be a member of this branch, or one of the Drurys of Riddlesworth, Norfolk, several of whom—Sir Drue Drury, 'Young S^r Dru Drury' and Sir Robert Drury—are mentioned in the Harley volume. The 'Holland' of Add. 39,550-4 may be the Sir John Holland (of Quiddenham, Norfolk?) given as the source of story no. 465 in Harley 6395, while 'm^r Derham', whose manuscripts are mentioned in Add. 23,779 and RCM. 921, is almost certainly the 'm^r Derham' who contributed nos. 124, 303, and 539, etc., of the anecdotes, and the piece of information relating to no. 86 already quoted. He may also be the member of the Derham family who was Jenkins's patron. According to the list of burials relating to the Derham family of West Dereham, Norfolk, a Sir Thomas Derham was buried on 28 May 1645.¹² This Sir Thomas may have been the one knighted at Newmarket on 1 December 1617. He may also have been the member of the family involved with Sir Hamon Le Strange and his sons Hamon and Roger Le Strange (the father

¹⁰ Wrongly printed as 'Stettkin' in the Camden Society volume.

¹¹ North, 'The Musically Gramarian', ed. Andrews, p. 26.

¹² Blomefield, 'An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk' (1807), vii, p. 330.

and brothers of Sir Nicholas Le Strange) in the attempt to deliver Lynn to the Royalist Forces in 1643.¹³

A few suggestions can be made towards identifying the owners of the other collation copies. 'Barnard' must surely be John Barnard, minor canon of St. Paul's and indefatigable collector of church music who published in 1641 'The First Book of Selected Church Music'. 'Harman' might be William Harman of Stanhow, Norfolk, husband of Catherine, *née* Bozoun, a family related to the Le Stranges and mentioned many times in Harley 6395, or Christopher Harman, a trumpeter in the Royal service. For 'Couzens' there are several possibilities: Francis Cozens, whose name occurs in 1625 as a member of 'the Consorte' in the Royal music¹⁴, Benjamin Cosyn, organist of Dulwich College and later of the Charterhouse, or Dr. John Cosin, Master of Peterhouse from 1635-44 and afterwards Bishop of Durham, who bequeathed a collection of music manuscripts to his college. 'Fanshaw' suggests the family to which John Ward was attached, particularly as Ward's name is also referred to in the collation notes for his fancies in Add. 39,550-4. 'Coleman' is perhaps Charles Coleman, musician for the lute, viol and voice, and 'Collins' possibly a member of the family of musicians in the Royal service.¹⁵ The latter might be the lutenist, Timothy Collins, particularly as his manuscript is used for collating Jenkins's works (in RCM. 1145), and Jenkins, himself, seems to have been best known as a lute and lyra viol player. From North's account of Jenkins's performance on the lyra viol before Charles I we know that Jenkins played at court and presumably he knew many of the royal musicians. It may not be fanciful to search for identifications of the other names among the recusant gentry and clergy of East Anglia and the Midlands, since the Royalist inclinations of the Le Strange family are clear. Thus 'Pettus' may be a member of the Royalist family of Rackheath, Norfolk, and 'Staresmore' may be connected with the William Staresmore of Frolesworth in Leicestershire who compounded in March 1649.¹⁶

The identification of C with Sir Nicholas Le Strange may be taken as reasonably certain. For that of hands A, B and D, I can produce no definite evidence, although it is tempting to suppose that A or B might be the hand of Thomas Brewer, whom Sir Nicholas describes as 'my Mus[ical?]: Servant'. A tentative suggestion as to the identity of D can, however, be made. This skilful hand seems the

¹³ 'Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding' (1889), i, p. 497.

¹⁴ Lafontaine, 'The King's Musick', p. 58.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ 'Cal. of Proc.' (1890), ii, p. 1166.

work of a professional musician and of some one closely associated with the Le Strange family. Three of the four manuscripts in which it occurs (Add. 31,428, RCM. 921 and Ch. Ch. 1005) consist exclusively of music by Jenkins and it is possible that these may also be specimens of his penmanship. I know of no established autograph document, or even signature, of Jenkins with which hand D could be compared and such a comparison might, in any case, not settle the question. D is an artificial hand and all the manuscripts mentioned above where it is found are beautifully made fair copies. The few words, such as composers' names, titles of pieces and so on, written by this hand, are printed or in capitals. The following points arising from the present group of manuscripts are, however, worth recording:

1. The note at the foot of fo. 64 in Add. 23,779: 'cor: x Q: Treble pag: 72 a sembr: short of the other parts: a sembr rest put in since at pag: 72. LI: 4. after the 4th note makes all right. x cor: by: I:I:'. This does not refer to any of the music in Add. 23,779, which contains only the organ part of the suites for one treble, bass and organ, but to a separate part which must once have existed (see the page references to the 'SIN[GLE?] P[ARTS?]' in the index on fo. 35^v-36). Now D wrote most of the organ part of these suites in Add. 23,779 and might, therefore, have been the person who would make a correction to the treble part, and 'I:I:' might be expanded to 'John Jenkins'.

2. On close study the wording of some of the examination notes in RCM. 921 may be significant. The pieces on fo. 1^v-13, the music of which is written by B, are marked by B and C 'J:Jenkins Ex: by Mr Jacobs: Bo: and m^r Derhams. Bo:', etc., and, as I have mentioned, musical illustrations of a number of variant passages, probably in the hand of C, occur on some of the verses. On fo. 14^v-18, 25^v-44, when the hand of the music has changed to D, there are no corrections or variant passages and the notes at the end of the pieces, in C's writing, read 'mr Jenkins. Exam: p Origin:' (the words 'mr Jenkins' are sometimes omitted). Might this not mean that from fo. 14 onwards, excepting the doubtful fo. 19^v-24, RCM. 921 consists of copies made by Jenkins for Sir Nicholas Le Strange of his own music from his own original manuscripts and that the examination notes by Sir Nicholas merely mean that he has checked Jenkins's transcript with the originals?

3. According to Anthony Wood, a member of the Derham family was Jenkins's patron before he came to the Le Strange household and a 'Mr Derham' is mentioned in two of the manuscripts in which hand D occurs (Add. 23,779 and RCM. 921). Jenkins may have moved to

the Le Strange family after the death of Sir Thomas Derham in 1645, but I have no proof of this.

4. Although B might be considered to have as good a claim as D to be Jenkins's autograph according to the reasoning in 1 and 3 above, there remains the objection of the type of collation note used with B in Add. 39,550-4 and RCM. 1145.

5. There is Burney's statement that Add. 39,550-4 were written by Jenkins. Might this not be the result of inaccurate transmission by later members of the Le Strange family of the fact that some music manuscripts, not necessarily these, were copied for the family by Jenkins?

In conclusion, it may be of use to note a revision of the dating 'early 18th cent.' and '17th-18th cent.' for Add. 31,428 and 23,779 given in the Hughes-Hughes 'Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum', iii, pp. 196, 269. The latter manuscript, from its association with Sir Nicholas Le Strange, must date from before his death in 1655; the former was probably not written for the Le Strange family and may date from the late 1650's. In view of its similarity in lay-out to Add. 23,779 and RCM. 921 it can scarcely be very much later, although it is more elaborately ornamented. That the music of these three-part fancies had been composed by 1661-6 is shown by dates inserted by the unidentified copyist of another set of contemporary copies in Add. 30,488-90. The dating '1660' for Add. 31,428 given in Puttick and Simpson's sale-catalogue of 1 December 1873 may be approximately right, although I suspect it to be founded on a misreading of Edward Jones's note on fo. 1 rather than on any definite information.

APPENDIX

I add here a few notes on the later histories of the music manuscripts described above in so far as they have come to my notice:

Add. 39550-4. Included in the sale of Burney's music library on 8-15 August 1814, when they were acquired by Thomas Jones for £1 1s. od.¹⁷ Add. 39,550, fo. xv, retains an early nineteenth-century label 'Jones's Sale No 296 Fancies 5 Vol King James 1st Reign', but I have so far been unable to trace a copy of the sale-catalogue of this sale, which took place on 13 February 1826 according to annotations in a number of other music manuscripts once owned by Thomas Jones and now in the British Museum. The set was subsequently acquired by Richard Clark, lay vicar of Westminster Abbey, whose annotations occur on the cover and elsewhere in Add. 39,550. The volumes were lot 503 in Clark's sale at Puttick and Simpson's, 25, 27-28 June 1853, when they passed to

¹⁷ 'A catalogue of the valuable and very fine collection of music, printed and MS. of the late Charles Burney . . .', item 354.

Joseph Warren for £1 11s. od. They were later offered for sale in the same firm's catalogue of 20 December 1872, lot 103, but according to manuscript notes in the British Museum set of copies seem to have been bought in by Warren for £5. Dr. Thomas Lea Southgate, who bequeathed them to the British Museum in 1917, states (Add. 39,550, fo. xiv) that they were presented to him by the Rev. Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, who presumably acquired them from Warren at some date between December 1872 and the latter's death in March 1881.

RCM. 1145. The three extant part-books also belonged to Burney, together with a bass volume (see his note on the cover of the *cantus* volume) which has since disappeared. He may have acquired them from the same source (Nicholas Styleman) as Add. 39,550-4. This set was lot 355 in the Burney sale and was also acquired by Thomas Jones (for 14s.). The pencil no. 281 on fo. 1 of the *cantus* volume is in the same hand as the pencilled 284 on the original cover of Add. 29,485, which also belonged to Jones, and may therefore be the lot number in his sale. The *cantus* volume also has an unidentified catalogue number '307' on the cover. The subsequent history of this set is unknown to me until it appears in the first edition of the 'Catalogue of the Library of the Sacred Harmonic Society' (1853), under no. 114 of the manuscripts. According to the preface to this catalogue the manuscripts appear to have been acquired after 1849. With the greater part of the library these volumes passed to the Royal College of Music in 1883.

Add. 23,779. Belonged to Sir George Smart whose signature is on fo. 2. It was acquired for the British Museum at his sale at Puttick and Simpson's 28-29 June 1860, lot 103, for £1 13s. od. A catalogue number (?) "3.4.5." can still be distinguished on the original vellum cover.

RCM. 921. I know nothing of its later history except that it was no. 115 of the manuscripts in the above mentioned catalogue of the Sacred Harmonic Society.

Add. 31,428. Together with another manuscript now in the British Museum (Add. 29,290) this volume was lot 485 in Edward Jones's posthumous sale at Sotheby's on 7 February 1825, when it was acquired by Thorpe for 5s. The inaccurate note on fo. 1 about Jenkins and the Le Strange family is in Jones's handwriting. It subsequently belonged to John Lodge Ellerton, was acquired at his sale at Puttick and Simpson's on 1 December 1873, lot 38, by Robinson (for 14s.) and was among the portion of Julian Marshall's music library purchased by the British Museum in 1880-81.

MOZART'S SCENA FOR TENDUCCI

By C. B. OLDMAN

It has generally been considered that the *scena* which Mozart wrote for Tenducci (K. 315b), like other compositions which he is known to have written during his ill-fated visit to Paris in 1778, has been lost beyond hope of recovery. One man who did not share this view was the late H. J. Laufer, an indefatigable searcher whose persistence was more than once rewarded by a really notable find. Lovers of Mozart will remember particularly his discovery of the composer's earliest surviving compositions, subsequently published by the Deutsche Mozart-Gesellschaft in 1956 as part of the volume 'Der früheste Mozart'. At the time of his tragic death in that very year I still had in my possession a number of pieces of printed music which he had asked me to investigate, and among them were three works all relevant in some degree to K. 315b. I have since acquired them from his widow.

The first of them is an edition of the *scena* attributed to Johann Christian Bach, which Ludwig Landshoff, who published it in 1930 in his 'Joh. Christian Bach: 12 Konzert- und Opernarien', considered Mozart to have taken as his model when writing his own *scena* for Tenducci; the second is a separate edition of the aria (or rondo) from the same *scena*, furnished with a new English text; and the third is an edition of another *scena*, again without composer's name, sung by Tenducci at Bach and Abel's Concerts in 1779. It will be convenient to give transcriptions of the title-pages and some other bibliographical details of the pieces before proceeding to any general discussion of their significance:

(1) [Title in manuscript, on recto of p. 2 on which the music begins:] 'The Favorite Rondau [*sic*] Sung [by] Mr Tenducci for the Season 1778, at Messrs Bach and Abels Concert. Accompanied on the Piano Forte by Mr Bach and on the Hautboy by Mr Fischer. Price 5/-'. [Score]. pp. 20. obl. fol.

(2) 'The Favorite Rondeau Sung by Mr Tenducci at Messrs Bach and Abel's Concert. Accompanied on the Piano Forte by Mr Bach and on the Hautboy by Mr Fischer adapted for the Harpsichord and an occasional Accompaniment for the Flute with English Words. Price 1 ^{Shilling}. N.B. The Same may be had with the Compleat Score & Italian Words of Mr Tenducci No 57 Great Portland Street and at all the Music Shops.' [Short score.] pp. 4. obl. fol. ('Engrav'd by J. B. Scherer, No 47 St Jam's Hay-market.')

(3) 'Rondeau with two Violoncellos, Piano Forte, two Flutes, two Clarinets, two French Horns, two Violins, Tenor and Bass. Sung by Mr Tenducci at Messrs Bach and Abels Concert in this present year 1779. London. To be had of Mr Tenducci only No 17 Princess Street Leicester Square.' pp. 23. obl. fol.

The first is a *scena*, or recitative and aria (rondo), for soprano voice, accompanied by two oboes (one *obbligato*), two horns in D, bassoon, piano (*obbligato*) and strings. As already mentioned, it was published, but in vocal score only, by Ludwig Landshoff in 1930. Landshoff based his text on an edition in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (Sammelband Mus. MS. 30112) which appears to be very similar to the one described above, except that it has an engraved title-page, which differs from the manuscript one in that it contains no date and includes the statement 'To be had of Mr Tenducci'. He introduced a few embellishments from a *scena* published in Vol. I of Domenico Corri's 'A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs, Duetts, etc. from Operas in the highest esteem' (c. 1779), which he evidently regarded as virtually identical with it. The *scena* is headed 'Didone', and the title of the opera is flanked by the more specific information, in Italian and English: 'Composto dal/Composed by/Sig^r Mortellari—Cantato dalla/Sung by/Sig^{ra} Gabrielli'. It comes in fact from the *pasticcio* 'Didone abbandonata', the opera in which that famous, and notorious, singer made her début on the English stage.¹ It was first produced at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, under Sacchini's direction, on 11 November 1775, and repeated on 18 and 25 November and on 2, 9, 16 and 30 December and, in 1776, on 13, 20 and 27 January. On one of the earlier dates Horace Walpole must have heard it, for on 8 December he wrote to Sir Horace Mann in Florence:

Tell me truly, is or has the Gabrielli been a great singer? She has, at least, not honoured us but with a most slender, low voice. Her action is just, but colder than a vestal's. However, as you know, she carries the resemblance no further.

The printed libretto² shows that the *scena* occurred in Act III, scene 2, in which the characters are Dido, Selene (her sister) and Araspe (confidant of Jerba, King of Numidia). On hearing of Aeneas's desertion Dido sadly takes leave of her companions. The words of her aria:

¹ There is an amusing account of this opera in the third (30 November 1775) of G. C. Lichtenberg's 'Letters from England', transl. by Margaret L. Mare and W. H. Quarrell (Oxford, 1938).

² T. Cadell, London [1775].

Io vi lascio, e questo addio
 Se sia l'ultimo non so.
 Ah chi sa se l'idol mio
 Io mai più lo rivedrò?

are an adaptation and expansion of those sung by Jason in Act II, scene 13 of Metastasio's 'Issipile':

Io ti lascio, e questo addio
 Se sia l'ultimo non so.
 Tornerò coll' idol mio,
 O mai più non tornerò.

It is curious that Landshoff does not comment on the fact that, apart from the aria, the *scena* he reproduces is quite different from that printed in Corri's collection and, as is shown by the occurrence of the name Rinaldo in the recitative, implies a context in which it is Armida who is deserted and not Dido.

The ascription of the *scena* to Mortellari he dismisses out of hand; he was apparently not aware that it is also ascribed to him in the edition of 'The Favourite Songs in the opera Didone abbandonata' which Robert Bremner published while the opera was still running; indeed he makes no mention of this publication, in which, presumably, the original scoring (two oboes, two horns in D, two violins, two violas and bassoon, but no *obbligato* parts) is to be found. There is evidence too that even at the end of the century, when it had enjoyed some twenty years of continued popularity as a result of its incorporation in William Shield's phenomenally successful ballad opera 'The Flitch of Bacon', the aria 'Io ti lascio' with its new English words, 'No 'twas neither shape nor feature', was still occasionally attributed to Mortellari. His name appears, for instance, on the edition of it 'as sung by Mr. Johnstone', printed by H. Andrews and sold by G. Verry about 1800. On the other hand the version in Vol. I of 'The Beauties of Music and Poetry', with an English text beginning 'Gentle breezes waft him over' is described as 'a celebrated air by Mr. Bach'. This was published by J. Preston in 1788. I must also not suppress the fact, though I think it quite inconclusive, that the melody forms the theme of the 'Arioso con variazioni' of No. 4 of Bach's 'Four Progressive Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte', published by Longman & Broderip about 1780. On the whole I think that the evidence that Mortellari was in fact the original composer of this famous song is fairly strong. To assert this is not to deny Bach's claim to be considered the composer of the *scena* as sung by Tenducci. The elaborate orchestration, the importance given to the *concertante* instruments, the provision of new recitative—all these

make this essentially a new work, a work too that in its formal structure resembles closely other compositions by Bach which are undoubtedly authentic.³

The external evidence points in the same direction. Though the printed editions of the *scena* bear no composer's name there are several manuscripts in which it is explicitly ascribed to Bach. The most important of these is a manuscript now in the British Museum (Add. 32,151) which has no title-page but bears at the head of the text the superscription: 'Scena con Aria a 12 part. del Sig^r J. C. Bach (nach einer Abschrift seines Neffen W. Bachs)'.⁴ The nephew was Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Bach (1759-1845), the son of Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, who came to London with his father in May 1778 and stayed there to receive his uncle's tuition. He did not return to Germany till after his uncle's death on 1 January 1782. The *scena* was, moreover, announced and performed as Bach's at least once during the concert season of 1778; the manuscript title-page to my No. 1 shows that it was included in the series of concerts given during that year by Bach and Abel at the Hanover Square Rooms. There were fourteen of these and they extended from 21 January to 6 May. So far as I am aware no programmes for this series have survived. The concerts were advertised in the newspapers of the time, but the advertisements do not specify the works to be performed, and I have not found any reports on the concerts after they had been given.

On May 20, however, after the main series was over, Signora Balconi gave a benefit concert at the Hanover Square Rooms, and the advertisements of it, after stating that she would be assisted by Signors Tenducci and Amantini and, among the instrumentalists, by Messrs. Bach, Abel, Cervetti, Weiss, Crosdill, Stamitz and Fisher, announced that "in Act II will be performed a *favorite* Cantata, called *Rinaldo and Armida* composed by Mr. Bach, in which is introduced a Song, accompanied by a New Instrument called the Voce Umana⁵, by Sig. Caravoglia". The song was almost certainly the piece I have been discussing. I believe that it had received its

³ See, for example, Nos. 2 and 12 in Landshoff's collection.

⁴ Terry ('John Christian Bach', p. 250) has unjustifiably introduced the words 'Rinaldo ed Armida' at the head of his citation of this manuscript. 'Rinaldo ed Armida' was a cantata by Bach for three voices which appears not to have survived in its entirety. The 'Scena con Aria' which was Tenducci's showpiece presumably formed part of it. I refer below to a performance of the cantata at Signora Balconi's concert on 20 May 1778. It also formed one of the main items in the concert which Tenducci gave in the Hanover Square Rooms on 6 May 1786 for his own benefit but also as a special Bach Commemoration Concert. On this occasion Rinaldo was sung by Tenducci, Ubaldo by Miss Madden and Armida by Madame Mara. The original programme is reproduced in P. A. Scholes's 'The Great Dr. Burney', ii, pl. 39.

⁵ The *voce umana* was a variety of oboe.

first performance, either alone or as part of the cantata, only a few months, possibly only a few weeks, before. The description of the piece of which it formed a part as "a favorite Cantata" is not inconsistent with this assumption. Given a pleasant tune (already familiar), Tenducci to sing it, Fisher to imitate it on the oboe and Bach to contribute a bustle of arpeggios on the pianoforte, popularity might be speedily achieved. It seems reasonable to assume that publication followed close on performance. Nos. 1 and 2 in my list were probably published some time in the summer of 1778, perhaps not long before Tenducci left for Paris, there to meet Mozart and commission a similar work from him.

I must now admit that my suppositions are completely at variance with the account given by C. Sanford Terry in his detailed study of the life and work of J. C. Bach.* According to Terry the *scena* 'Ebben si vada', with its aria 'Io ti lascio', was written to be sung by the tenor Pasini in one of the later performances of the *pasticcio* 'Armida', first produced at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, on 19 November 1774 (not 8 November as Terry says). He gives no evidence for this statement, but it appears at first sight to receive some support from contemporary advertisements. The *Public Advertiser* for 6 January 1775, for example, announced a performance of the opera on the following day "with alterations, a new duet and new songs, by several eminent masters", and in the issue of the same newspaper for 13 February the new pieces are thus specified:

- Act I, Page 15. Signor Rauzzini and Signora Schindlerin.
Duetto by Anfossi.
- Act II, Page 19, Signora Farinella, a Song by Galuppi.
Page 20, Signora Schindlerin, a Song by Vento.
Page 23, Signor Pasini, a Song by Bach.
Page 24, Signora Schindlerin, a Song by Sacchini.
Page 27, Signor Rauzzini, a Song by Bertoni.
Page 31, Signor Rauzzini, a Song by Vento.

The page references relate to the libretto of the opera, which had been published by T. Cadell in 1774. 'Armida' was performed eight times: 19, 22 and 26 November and 6 December 1774; and, with the alterations, on 7, 14, 21 and 28 January 1775. Bremner's edition of 'The Favourite Songs in the opera Armida', presumably published in 1774, contained three pieces only, the one sung by Pasini being 'Il Guerrier ch' è valoroso'. I know of no other edition of the music and no edition of the libretto that contains the *scena* 'Ebben si vada—Io ti lascio'. It is clear that Bach wrote something for Pasini that would

* 'John Christian Bach' (London, 1929).

find its appropriate place on p. 23 of the printed libretto, but was it this *scena*? It is hard to believe that it was. The words of the recitative show that it is Rinaldo who is singing, and the Rinaldo was Rauzzini; it was the part of Tancredi that was sung by Pasini.

Now, at last, for my No. 3. On 27 August 1778 (a Thursday) Mozart wrote to his father from St. Germain, where he was staying at the palace of the Maréchal de Noailles. After expressing his pleasure at the arrival in Paris of his beloved J. C. Bach and of the singer Tenducci, both of whom he had got to know during his stay in London in 1764-5, he explains that he is in a hurry as he has to compose a *scena* for Tenducci for performance on the following Sunday by the Maréchal's own orchestra ("Germans, who play very well"). It was to be scored for piano, oboe, horn and bassoon. There is no further mention of this piece in Mozart's correspondence and there seems to be no record of its performance. Tenducci must, however, have brought the autograph back with him to England, for Burney saw it and furnished a description of it to the Hon. Daines Barrington, who in his 'Miscellanies' (1781) printed it at the end of the 'Account of a very Remarkable Young Musician' which had first been published in the 'Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society' for 1771. Burney's report, which Barrington quotes *verbatim*, reads:

Mozart being at Paris, in 1778, composed for Tenducci a *scena* in 14 parts, chiefly obligati; viz. two violins, two tenors, one chromatic horn, one oboe, two clarinets, a Piano forte, a Soprano voice part, with two horns, and a base di rinforza. It is a very elaborate and masterly composition, discovering a great practice and facility of writing in many parts. The modulation is likewise learned and *recherchée*; however, though it is a composition which none but a great master of harmony, and possessed of a consummate knowledge of the genius of different instruments, could produce; yet neither the melody of the voice part, nor of any one of the instruments, discovers much invention, though the effects of the whole, if well executed, would, doubtless, be masterly and pleasing.

Now it is natural to suppose that Tenducci, in commissioning a *scena* from Mozart, hoped not merely to satisfy the Maréchal but to be able to repeat later in London the success he had achieved during the 1778 season with the *scena* written for him by Bach; it is natural, too, to suppose that, unless he was dissatisfied with Mozart's performance, he duly produced the work during the season of 1779. Unfortunately for this season too no detailed programmes have survived, and the newspapers are again unhelpful. Here nevertheless (in my No. 3) is a work which is undoubtedly very similar to

Bach's *scena* of 1778 and, as the title-page shows, was in fact performed in 1779. It was also published in that year: its publication is announced in an advertisement in *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* for 11 June 1779, roughly a month after the last of the sixteen concerts of the 1779 series, which extended from 27 January to 18 May. No composer's name was given.

Is it possible that this publication preserves, in however altered a form, the *scena* written for Tenducci by Mozart? That is what Mr. Laufer hoped that I should be able to prove. Two objections are obvious: it does not bear Mozart's name; and its instrumentation differs from that of the score described by Burney. A more serious objection is that the aria (without the recitative) was printed as 'composed by John Bach' in Domenico Corri's 'Select Collection' (c. 1779), which I have already had occasion to mention.⁷ (C. Sanford Terry, p. 251, also records a manuscript, then at Bückeburg.) But though this ascription may seem to dispose of the whole question I prefer to postpone discussion of it for a while and deal with the other two points.

The fact that the *scena* was published anonymously is of no great significance. Bach's *scena* of 1778 was also published by Tenducci without any mention of its composer, and it is clear that in both cases he regarded the association with his own name as sufficient recommendation. They were show-pieces written chiefly for him and he expected his admirers to buy them for his sake. The difference in instrumentation is not as easy to account for, but Burney wrote before the work had been performed in England, and when it was actually performed changes may well have been made to suit the resources available. (It will be remembered that another of Mozart's Paris compositions, the 'Sinfonia concertante', K. 297b, originally written for flute, oboe, horn and bassoon, survives only in a transcription for oboe, clarinet, horn and bassoon.) Moreover, it can at least be said that the difficulty of reconciling my No. 3 with Burney's description is no greater than the difficulty of reconciling what Burney says with the account given by Mozart himself in his letter to his father. Again, in many respects the *scena* does tally with what Burney says. It is in fourteen parts, it might without too much exaggeration be described as an elaborate and masterly composition and as displaying a consummate knowledge of the genius of different instruments, and if

⁷ Corri's collection was no doubt the source of Georg A. Walter's edition, published in 1920 as part of No. 4 of his 'Tonwerke alter deutscher Meister'. This is in the key of F major (Corri's, like my No. 3, is in E \flat major) but has the same accompaniment of two violins, pianoforte and continuo. Walter has substituted German words: 'Meiner allerliebsten Schönen', etc.

its modulation no longer seems learned and *recherché*, that is not surprising: Burney's own views on what was learned and *recherché* changed considerably during the remaining 36 years of his life.

But what of the claims of Johann Christian Bach? If he wrote the aria (and I am prepared to agree that he probably did) is there not a strong presumption that the whole piece is his? On grounds of style a good case could be made out for him. The 'Rondeau' is as characteristic of his later manner as is the *scena* of 1778 which I have already accepted as his: there is, for example, the same anticipation of the theme of the aria in the course of the opening recitative, and there is the same showy *obbligato* part for the piano. But from the very nature of the case stylistic evidence must here be used with caution. If Mozart took Bach's earlier *scena* as his model it would be the absence not the presence of Bachian characteristics that would be surprising. It is equally unsafe to argue from features that seem to suggest Mozart rather than Bach, such as the striking passage in the Largo section preceding the aria, with its broken triplets in the violins. The truth is that, so far as internal evidence goes, the piece might be by either composer. I am going to be so rash as to suggest that it may have been, in more than one sense, the work of both. Granted that the aria ('Al mio bene') was composed by Bach, is it not possible that Mozart, either at Tenducci's suggestion or as a spontaneous act of homage to the composer he admired so much, appropriated it to form the basis of his own *scena*? May not Mozart, in other words, have treated Bach just as, if my earlier supposition is correct, Bach had treated Mortellari—and then have been himself adapted when his *scena* was performed at the Bach-Abel concerts in 1779? In view of what we know of eighteenth-century practice I think the possibility is well worth considering.

As yet I have said nothing about the words of the *scena*. Shorn of formal repetitions and with a few necessary corrections they read:

[Recitative]

Sentimi, non partir,
Per tutto ciò ch' ai di più sacro in cielo o di più caro in terra,
Per quell' istesso tenero amor che ci legò, t' arresta.
Perdona al padre o almeno se brami una vendetta aprimi il seno.

Fra noi chi a ciglio asciutto potria veder estinta cader vergine pura a
piè dell' ara.

E qual barbaro cuore non si trova commosso a tanto orrore?
Sposa Antigona, ah meglio ti consiglia col ciel
La bianca destra non imbrattar nel sangue, ed un sangue innocente.
Ah ch' io . . . Vorrei . . . Ti sdegni . . .
Ahimè. (Voi m' assistete oh Dei!)

[Aria]

Al mio bene a lei che adoro
 Vo chiedendo in van pietà.
 Eppur so che il mio tesoro
 Sì crudele il cor non [h]a.

Gira i lumi, par turbata
 E risolversi non sà.
 A quest' alma abbandonata
 Perchè mai tal crudeltà?

Sposa Antigona, ben mio, ah meglio ti consiglia col ciel.
 Antigona, ben mio, sposa, mio tesoro,
 Pur io so che il ben che adoro
 Sì crudele il cor non ha.

Thanks largely to Tenducci himself the author of these lines can be identified. They came from Gaetano Roccaforte's 'Antigona', and the singer is Euristeo, Antigona's husband. The opera was first produced at the Teatro delle Dame, Rome, with music by Galuppi, on 9 January 1751, re-set by Latilla for production at the Teatro Ducale di Modena in 1753, and again re-set by Ferdinando Bertoni for the Teatro Falcone at Genoa in 1755. Twenty years afterwards Bertoni's setting had the honour of being chosen for the opening, on 17 October 1775, of the newly-built theatre at Alessandria, and the part of Euristeo was allotted to Tenducci. In 1778 Tenducci published, with a dedication to Marie Antoinette, a collection of 'Favorite Italian Songs' from his repertory, and the fourth song in this collection ('Dal suo duol cotanto oppressa', with recitative beginning 'Ah quel fatal momento') is headed: "Composd [*sic*] by Sig^r Ferdinando Bertoni for Mr. Tenducci, in the opera of Antigona, perform'd at the opening of the new theatre at Alexandria, Piedmont, Autum [*sic*] 1775". Presumably a libretto was printed, but I have not succeeded in tracing one. There is a copy of the libretto of a production of the opera at the Teatro di San Benedetto, Venice, in 1776 (when it was set by Mortellari) in the Library of Congress (Schatz 6679). I am obliged to Mr. Richard S. Hill, of the Music Division, for kindly typing out for me the relevant passage. The text is substantially the same as that of Tenducci's 'Rondeau', which, however, omits two brief interjections by Antigona. In his 'Favorite Italian Songs' Tenducci gives for most of the items the name of the composer, the opera in which the piece was sung, and when and where it was first performed. It is a pity that he was not always so informative.

SCHUBERT'S 'PASTORAL MASS'

BY F. REINHARD VAN HOORICKX

ABOUT 1850 Ferdinand Schubert, Franz's elder brother and inheritor of the bulk of his unpublished works, published a 'Pastoral Messe', Op. 13, for solo, chorus, orchestra and organ (Haslinger, Vienna). His manuscript, preserved at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, is dated 20 October 1833. When the Mass was performed for the first time on 25 December 1846 in the St. Anna-Kirche, the *Wiener Allgemeine Musikzeitung* observed that it was a "heritage of Schubertian sentiment (*Gemütlichkeit*) not to be mistaken".¹ This seemed to be the greatest compliment one could pay to Ferdinand. It was soon discovered, however, that the Kyrie (in B \flat) was borrowed from Schubert. A manuscript of this Kyrie (without accompaniment), dated 1 March 1813, is in the Stadtbibliothek, Vienna; it was published in 1888 in the Collected Edition, Ser. XIV, no. 21 (D.V. 45).

At the beginning of April 1958 I found in Müller's music shop in the Krügergasse in Vienna a printed copy of the parts of the complete Mass—apparently the first and only edition. As I wanted to study the work I decided to make a score from the parts. There was no doubt about the Kyrie, which was already known to be Schubert's, but it was interesting to compare his original with Ferdinand's adaptation. The latter is marked simply 'Andante,' whereas Schubert's original has 'Andante con espressione'. The orchestral accompaniment in Ferdinand's edition includes four bars of introduction, three bars of interlude between the 'Kyrie' and the 'Christe', four bars of interlude between the 'Christe' and the second 'Kyrie' (where Schubert has a silent bar), and an eleven-bar postlude. There is one minor difference in the voice-parts: in the 'Christe' Schubert has two crotchets (F E \flat) on the 'lei' of 'eleison', which Ferdinand has altered to a dotted crotchet and quaver.

When I came to the Credo I was surprised to find that it had exactly the same melody, almost throughout, as the so-called 'Sonatine' in C major for piano duet (D.V. 968) (see next page). I remembered later having read in Deutsch's thematic catalogue: "Another hand has added fingering and written the words of the Credo and of the Incarnatus under the music". I assumed that the "other hand" must have been Ferdinand's; but shortly afterwards I

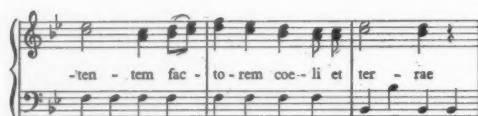
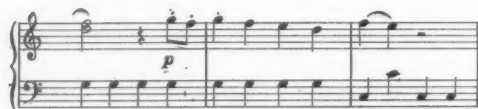
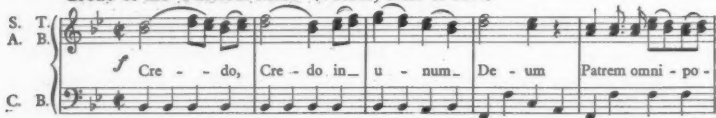
¹ O. E. Deutsch, 'Schubert: Thematic Catalogue' (London, 1951), p. 20.

Piano duet (D.V. 968) (reduced)

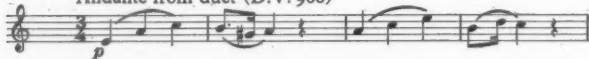
Allegro moderato



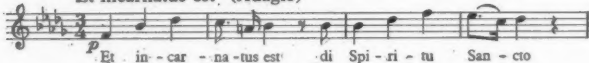
Credo of the 'Pastoral Mass' (Voices, cello & bass)



Andante from duet (D.V. 968)



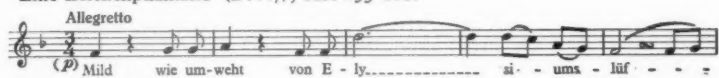
'Et incarnatus est' (Adagio)



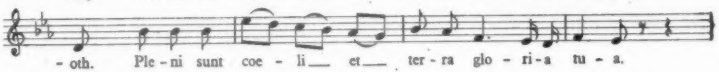
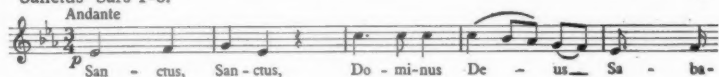
learned from Mr. Maurice Brown that the added words were in fact in Schubert's handwriting. This leads one to ask whether Schubert made the adaptation himself—a procedure for which there are parallels in later works. And if that is so, is it not possible that the whole Mass was written by Schubert at an early age and simply published by Ferdinand under his own name? This is exactly what happened to Schubert's 'Deutsches Requiem' (D.V. 621). It occurred to me that the observation made by the writer in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* could hardly refer only to the Kyrie, as the most lyrical parts are to be found in the solos in the Gloria, Benedictus and Agnus Dei. I also discovered that the Credo and the Gloria have virtually the same ending.

An examination of the Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei showed further that important parts of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei occurred, with minor differences, in Schubert's early song 'Eine Leichenphantasie' (D.V. 7):

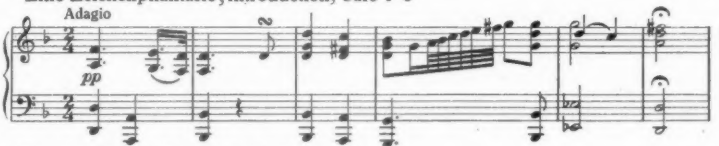
'Eine Leichenphantasie' (D.V.7), bars 153-161:



'Sanctus' bars 1-8.



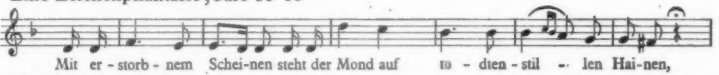
'Eine Leichenphantasie', introduction, bars 1-6



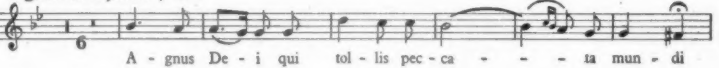
'Pastoral Mass' - 'Agnus Dei', bars 1-6



'Eine Leichenphantasie', bars 10-16



'Agnus Dei', bars 7-12



The obvious conclusion is that we have in this Mass an early work by Schubert, which perhaps he considered of no importance and gave to Ferdinand. Whether the orchestral accompaniment is also his is a problem which can be solved only by experts.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Beethoven and Human Destiny. By Burnett James. pp. 191. (Phoenix, London, 1960, 25s.)

"This book is an attempt to interpret the music of Beethoven in relation not only to our own times, but to the developing consciousness of mankind." A daunting spiritual Odyssey indeed! Do we need to undertake it except through the music, now more than ever available? Many would deny it with their last breath, and their natural disinclination might be strengthened if they saw chapter-titles like 'Eros and ethics', 'The everlasting yea' and 'The place of a skull' (especially if they caught sight of one of the Seven Last Words applied to the 'Hammerklavier' fugue). Mr. Burnett James must have lived long with the huge proposition, and his own reading and thoughts have ranged far in the fields of philosophy and aesthetics. The style often lacks precision, which is not surprising when he ponders on imponderables, and the reader is discouraged when two or three pages elapse before the drawing together of seemingly disparate ideas. Some of the notions seem mere extravagances, some—in contrast to the music which evokes them—seem impenetrable, but there are also many subtle judgments, keen and illuminating, scattered throughout the book.

The 'first period' works are hardly mentioned, but the author hastens on to an essay on the heroic idea as seen in the 'Eroica' and 'The Ring'. The latter seems a curious appendage to draw in for the sake of some neat aphoristic comparisons. The study of the 'Eroica' suffers more than the rest of the book does by the comparison with the far more readable but no less discerning Romain Rolland. This chapter also contains several of the sort of remarks which are bound to make a reviewer scribble in the margin:

The Funeral March brings us up against a very real problem, and one which is not solved more than a hundred and fifty years after its composition . . . Why, we must ask again, did Beethoven place it immediately after the first movement?

Why must we ask this question again, or at all? According to Mr. James, as opposed to Wagner, it is

impossible to believe that Beethoven used the form of the Funeral March as no more than a technical device—as one form among many in which a slow movement could be written—without attaching to it some particular significance. It is even more impossible to think that he placed the slow movement before the Scherzo in deference to established symphonic practice.

Many musicians, especially if such loaded and question-begging phrases as "no more than a technical device" and "in deference to established practice" were amended, would not think it impossible at all.

It is certainly a tribute to the author's pertinacity and enthusiasm that one continues to journey with him, through a spirited appreciation of the fourth symphony as "the greatest love music ever written" and a consideration of the fifth symphony which shows at length how some

aspects of Kant's moral philosophy, which Beethoven was known to admire, could have been the mainspring of the work. The author, in common with many other writers, is hypnotized by the celebrated opening motif, but it seems to make no difference to him whether the first note is accented or not. The difficulties of too precise an identification of it with a particular mood are equivocally faced in a paragraph which sees it in the opening of the G major piano concerto and, "with one note added", in the violin concerto (both at a far remove from the symphony's use, one would have thought) and yet still treats it as a thing-in-itself, as something which had for Beethoven a far-reaching significance, whatever its meaning in particular places. We are on the edge of nonsense here.

The author has accepted from the American critic Homer Ulrich the notion that the three quartets of Op. 59 have an inner connection leading from indecision to triumph in C major by analogy with the contemporary fifth symphony. This involves calling the opening of Op. 59, no. 1 "hesitant and speculative". "This theme . . . poses questions and arises from spiritual uncertainties that are only resolved by the C major fugue three whole quartets ahead." It is as though bars 13-20 had never existed. It is inevitable that such points should obtrude themselves when the subject is vast and the delving deep. But the book is worth reading for the disagreement it is bound to evoke in its profusion of ideas, some vague, some remarkably apposite and unexpected, and all the result of wide-ranging thought and a proper humility.

I. K.

The New Oxford History of Music. Vol. III: *Ars Nova and the Renaissance, 1300-1540*. Edited by Dom Anselm Hughes and Gerald Abraham. pp. xix + 565. (Oxford University Press, 1960, 63s.)

The stately triennial sequence of NOHM continues with its new volume, a set of thirteen studies by various hands, illustrated with seven plates and more than 200 musical examples. It is perhaps appropriate that the present tempo is that of a *basse danse*, but it would be agreeable to think that the later volumes may adopt the faster pace of the coranto or even of the volt; at the present rate of progress the last volume is due in 1984, a year that George Orwell has taught us to mistrust.

The new volume has to face such well-established rivals as Reese and Pirro; it is challenged by the new, erudite, handy-sized, and remarkably cheap 'Encyclopédie de la Pléiade: Histoire de la Musique, I', edited by Roland-Manuel; and it presents any reviewer with an almost impossible task. One-man histories are out of fashion, it is true, but I am inclined to think that their advantages outweigh their faults, especially in a subject like musical history which is in a very rapid state of growth. Volumes prepared by a team encounter certain special hazards, as Morley found with the Oriana madrigals long ago—laggards, ramblers, plodders, and the rest of them—and the Editorial Board needs no reminder from me of their existence. Additional hazards are presented by the problems of translating—well handled here—and the steady tread of scholarship, which has outstripped some contributions in important details, since they were first written ten years ago. Notwithstanding the natural desire of any reviewer to fly his pennants of amendment from all the crow's

nests he can find, I would emphasize that such considerations as these are no more than details, and that the volume as a whole is most welcome.

Gilbert Reaney kicks off with thirty pages on the French *ars nova*, an admirable survey of a complex scene. His chapter may be paired with Leonard Ellinwood's fifty pages on Italian music of the fourteenth century, well set against its literary background. The sharp contrasts between French, English and Italian music at this time are pointed up by Frank Harrison's twenty-five pages on the conservative English sacred school and by Manfred Bukofzer's balancing study on English secular music of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but I should have welcomed a few paragraphs in both chapters on the social, ecclesiastical, political and—above all—geographical picture of the time, difficult as such paragraphs are to write. The complete absence of maps from the book is little short of scandalous; how many music students are likely to remember that in the fourteenth century 'England' still included a good third of France, or that half of the Italian peninsula took no notice of the Pope at Rome, and in any case belonged to the houses of Anjou or Aragon?

Rudolf von Ficker has no more than thirty pages in which to deal with all the Continental music composed during the first half of the fifteenth century. Undaunted, he does so, and does so well. His robust criticisms of many French composers of this time are refreshing to read. However enthralling it may be to a musical historian, the music of men like Grenon and Tapissier is poor stuff; no wonder Dunstable and Dufay made such an impact on their contemporaries. Back to Bukofzer again for forty-eight masterly pages on English fifteenth-century sacred music; once again one's sense of loss is quickened, for his death has left a gap in musicology that will take many years to fill. A twenty-four-page study on Dufay and his school by Charles van den Borren shows deep knowledge and warm sympathy, coupled with a shrewd judgment of fifteenth-century ways of expression. Nanie Bridgman has undertaken to cover the age of Ockeghem and Josquin in just over sixty pages, and her study seems to me among the best in the book. The period presents exceptional difficulties to students. It is exceptionally rich in surviving music, it reveals rapid stylistic changes, it is bisected by the sharp weapon of music-printing, it is heady with Renaissance ferment, it is crossed and counter-crossed by dynastic patterns of immense complexity; but I know of no better guide to it than this penetrating study, with its calm opinions on the relative worth of various composers.

Frank Harrison takes the story of our English polyphony up to the Renaissance, but all his persuasive skill cannot conceal the truth of Tinctoris's remark, quoted at the beginning of his chapter, about English musical conservatism. The richness of polyphonic sound achieved by the Eton composers is as splendid as the richness of Vertue's fan-vaulting to St. George's, Windsor, yet it is almost impossible to grasp that such men as these were the contemporaries of Josquin, the frottolists, Bramante and Giorgione. Walter Salmen's discussion of 'European Song (1300-1530)' is misleadingly titled (it is concerned almost exclusively with Germany and Spain) and wrongly oriented. "The German colonization of Eastern Europe which developed in the later Middle Ages" (p. 349) was not

entirely a cultural colonization, nor was it entirely unopposed. The famous Polish song 'Bogurodzica', written to commemorate the battle of Grunwald in 1410, does not tell a German story; the well-known fifteenth-century Krasinski manuscript in Warsaw has its compass pointing towards Italy; and for much of this period Silesia, Bohemia, Hungary, even Brandenburg itself, were territories not of Germany but of Luxembourg. I should have liked, too, to see some discussion of the tunes of the Italian *laude*, which exercised considerable influence on fourteenth-century song almost throughout Europe.

Everett Helm has twenty-five pages to cover Italian vocal music from 1400 to 1530, including an excellent survey of the *frottola*; the late Yvonne Rokseth has to cover two and a half centuries of instrumental music in sixty pages, which must have been an unenviable assignment. She succeeds remarkably well; her article is especially good on the general story of keyboard music, weakest on the growth of consort music. Thus her statement that "we have not yet reached a clear separation between vocal and instrumental music" takes little account of the repertory of dance music of this period, and underestimates the story behind the publications of Virdung, Agricola, Gerle, Ganassi, Narvaez and others. Such books as these presuppose an astonishingly high level of instrumental proficiency among professional musicians and a widespread enthusiasm for instrumental music among amateurs; they also reveal a marked distinction of style between vocal and instrumental writing. The volume ends with thirty-six pages from the late Gerald Hayes on musical instruments of the first 1500 years of our era. Fascinating in itself, this study is marginal to the book as a whole; two-thirds of it more properly belong to volume II of NOHM, and the remaining third does not penetrate deeply enough, by comparison with such articles as those by Harrison or Bridgman.

This question of penetration, indeed, is my greatest criticism of the book. The various authors dig their allotments to widely differing depths, and it is hard for a reader to make sufficient allowance for this when he is studying, say, the motet or the dance. A very precise briefing, and ruthless editorial re-writing, is the only answer; but how easy to say so and how difficult to achieve! Any reviewer could list a hundred points of detail upon which he feels the collaborators are wrong, or misguided, or misleading, in an enterprise of this magnitude; but no useful purpose would be served thereby, and I have put my pennants back in the signal locker where they belong. But one pennant I shall risk, for it concerns the titles of two volumes which have not yet been published. I am sure that in their present form these titles will give generations of students a misleading idea about the place of music in European history, and I would earnestly urge their amendment; according to the flyleaf, Volume IV is to be called 'The Age of Humanism (1540-1630)' and Volume VI 'The Growth of Instrumental Music (1630-1750)'. Now I have always been taught that the humanists were headed by such men as Ficino, Erasmus, da Vinci, even Luther himself; and I think I am not alone in feeling that events from 1530 to 1630 were the results of this humanistic drive, not contemporary with it. Surely a more exact title, and one less open to tendentiousness and chronological dispute, would be 'Reformation and

Counter-Reformation (1530-1630)', for these great movements were undeniably the main motive forces in music at this time. The title of volume VI would be vastly improved by decapitation, for the growth of instrumental music was a purely sixteenth-century phenomenon. By 1630 two whole generations of viol composers had come and gone in England alone; so had the virginalists, so had such masters of instrumentation as Morley and the young Monteverdi, so had the great lutenists, so had the Gabrielis and the creators of the sonata and concerto, so had dozens of composers of dance music, from Dalza to Gervaise, from Bendusi to Brade. It is difficult enough already to convince people of the stupendous richness of this hundred years in instrumental music; such a title as that proposed for Volume VI will make the task impossible for many years to come. Why not 'Instrumental Music (1630-1750)', *tout court*? The volume then takes its proper place as an exact companion to Volume V, which will deal with music of the theatre and the church during this period.

T. D.

The Hallé Tradition. A Century of Music. By Michael Kennedy. pp. 424. (Manchester University Press, 1960, 35s.)

Where are there four composers alive today of the calibre of Rossini, Verdi, Berlioz and Auber, asked Sir John Barbirolli after he had repeated Sir Charles Hallé's first programme in the series at a Hallé centenary season concert in 1958. Where, asked Colin Mason in the next morning's *Guardian*, is the conductor who would dare to offer his audience an equally modern programme? This characteristic exchange, which Michael Kennedy mentions in a footnote, draws together most of the more important strands in his history of the Manchester orchestra: Hallé's courage, idealism and far-sightedness; the unusually sustained and intense relationship between Hallé conductors and *Guardian* critics (Newman and Langford with Richter, Langford and Cardus with Harty, Mason with Barbirolli); and the case-history of musical taste and patronage in a community (a special case, perhaps, involving the steep decline of Manchester's status as a cultural centre from the European city which it was in the days of Hallé and Richter into the optional provincial 'date' which it seems to have become since the last war).

Mr. Kennedy is a rather naïve and partial chronicler, especially of the last twenty years of his period, but his book is, nevertheless, a valuable contribution to the social history of music in England. On the whole, it is a saddening history, full of intimations of promise and hope for a healthy musical culture that have never been realized. Hallé's programmes, from the start, when he was financing them out of his own pocket, were full of 'Musica Viva': Victorian Manchester audiences (which were by no means entirely, or even largely, made up of cultivated German emigrés as the legend has it) heard Berlioz, Wagner, Verdi, Brahms, Dvořák and Grieg when the composers were in their prime. Early this year his orchestra introduced 'The Rite of Spring' into its repertory; this season it will play for the first time Schönberg's 'Five Orchestral Pieces' and Webern's 'Six' (neither of which will be conducted by its chief conductor). Hallé was always being reproached by his critics for 'advanced' programmes;

Richter, in spite of his "pioneering for Wagner, Brahms and Bruckner", was rebuked for his conservatism, but Bartók appeared with him at a Hallé concert as pianist and composer in 1904. Half a century later Bartók is quite inadequately represented in the Hallé programmes; and Sir John Barbirolli is still pioneering for Wagner, Brahms and Strauss.

Hallé, of course, was an unusually adventurous musician, and the timidity of his orchestra's programmes today is neither unique among modern orchestral programmes nor due entirely to its present conductor's distaste for much of the music of his time. Barbirolli, as Mr. Kennedy says, is a superb orchestral trainer. Over the past seventeen years he has made and remade a fine instrument out of the generations of newly graduated music students who have been prepared to accept the orchestra's gruelling concert schedule and modest rates of pay. (The 'turnover' of players is appalling: more than half the viola section left during the last season.) But even if he had been an arch-serialist he would have found it impossible to afford rehearsal time for the preparation of what his critics might consider to be a suitable proportion of complex modern scores. The real villains of this story are those who have inherited a large share of the responsibilities of patronage, the city councillors. The last quarter of Mr. Kennedy's book amounts to a formidable indictment of the civic government's astonishing parsimony and indifference to the welfare of one of the two institutions which have contributed most to Manchester's diminishing fame in the world.

An entry in Hallé's diary after his first visit to the newly built Free Trade Hall in 1856 strikes a gloomily prophetic note in this connection. "Especially is it to be feared", he wrote, "that the desire of gain, or, at any rate, of material profit, will not be brought into accord with the necessary arrangements for real artistic purposes." Last year the council made a direct grant of £6,000 to the Hallé and contributed almost as much again to the regional local authorities' fund which is shared equally between the Hallé and the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra. It then took back from the Hallé approximately £7,000 as rent for the use of the Free Trade Hall. (In the same year Liverpool equalled Manchester's contribution to the joint fund, and gave its own orchestra, which occupies a splendid concert hall rent free, an additional £24,000).

Unenterprising programmes are one result of this tight-fistedness. Another, at least as important, is that the orchestra is obliged to give so many full-scale concerts to make ends meet and to spend so much time on the road that its members are unable to contribute properly in other ways to its community's musical life. In a healthy situation it should be possible to dispose of the forces which a symphony orchestra represents in many ways, to serve more music than is contained by the standard repertory of the Romantic orchestra. But the Hallé has no chamber orchestra to satisfy the still growing interest in music of the Baroque age; it works with choirs infrequently and unimaginatively; and it does nothing outside the concert hall to eke out Manchester's starvation diet of opera.

Here again Mr. Kennedy provides some depressing reminders of what might have been accomplished. The first attempt which he records to establish opera in the city was an ambitious season ('Fidelio' among

other things) sponsored in 1854 by a local impresario: it coincided disastrously with a Crimean War crisis. Richter, astonishingly, never conducted Wagner in the theatre in Manchester, and turned down an offer from Manners which would have enabled him to do so. But Michael Balling, Richter's successor until war drove him back to Germany, and a musician of the same idealistic stamp as Hallé (though less paternalistic), produced a fine plan for an English school of opera based on Manchester, which would serve and be assisted by Liverpool and the Yorkshire towns. Bantock was enthusiastic ("We have now for so long regarded Manchester as the Mecca of musical art in England"): the council and the cotton barons were not. Finally, and most painful of all to recall, there was Beecham's offer in 1918 to build and finance for ten years an opera house on a site to be provided by the city. The council promised to look into this, but after the war Beecham ran into financial difficulties and the dazzling vision faded.

Today, new office blocks (most of them hideous, though few so hideous as the new university buildings) are growing out of the Manchester bomb sites like weeds; and if anyone were to suggest that their owners might feel obliged to contribute to the foundation of an opera company based and suitably housed in Manchester he would be pronounced insane. Music, of course, is not the only, nor even the chief, sufferer among the arts. The city's excellent repertory company is still housed in a lecture hall in the basement of the Central Library. And when an opportunity occurred earlier this year for the city to acquire, under very favourable circumstances, Rubens's 'The Holy Family', the council, asked to make a grant of £10,000 towards its purchase price, offered £250, and the Manchester industrialists and businessmen who were asked to help out raised the handsome sum of £538.

Mr. Kennedy explains the present unhappy state of affairs in terms of a lost leadership. During the last fifty years the captains and lieutenants of industry and commerce have evacuated their families from the gloomy city and retreated further and further into the villages and dormitory suburbs of Cheshire, so that those who rule Manchester's trade no longer play any part in the civic government. Perhaps a more useful emphasis would be to say that they no longer pay their part even in rates towards the cost of running their regional capital in a civilized way. (Altrincham, one of the richest Cheshire suburbs, refuses to contribute a halfpenny towards the upkeep of the Hallé, for example.)

The most urgent and immediate importance of this book, it may be seen, is that it provides a well-documented report on what has happened to the musical life of a great urban centre and provokes thought about how it might be enriched once again. But the virtue of its less 'political' parts should not be overlooked. In addition to his detailed analyses of a century of programmes and their reception Mr. Kennedy provides fine and sympathetic portraits of many of the great servants of music who have also served the Hallé Orchestra, notably of Hallé himself and of Samuel Langford, whose rare insight and superb Johnsonian prose ought not to remain buried in the files of the *Guardian* (Neville Cardus's selection of them has long been out of print).

W. L. W.

Composer and Nation. By Sidney Finkelstein. pp. 333. (Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1960, 30s.)

The thesis which this baffling yet stimulating book advances is that social forces have played a greater part in shaping the music, even the actual melodies, of the great composers than has been recognized by historians, who have generally limited it to nineteenth-century conscious nationalism. This more pervasive influence is worth investigating and Mr. Finkelstein's wide and detailed knowledge of the music of the past 500 years is one qualification for the task. Indeed, he is so well-read that his abundance of quotations raises some alarm in the reader that he is in for one of those American doctoral dissertations, and the further fear that it is one of those potted histories, which he has learned to shun. But as he reads on he finds that the thesis is worth examination and that there is a lot of out-of-the-way information to be picked up from it.

The thesis itself, however, is slippery, because no firm meaning is given to the term 'folk music', although there are quotations galore from Sharp, Bartók and Vaughan Williams. The essential distinguishing element in a folksong is oral tradition, which Mr. Finkelstein does not mention. For a moment he appears to distinguish 'folk' from 'popular', but as the chapters proceed his thesis emerges as a strange equation: folk = peasant = popular = democratic = insurrectionary = left-wing in the class war. And so the scientific term 'folk' is turned into an emotive epithet. But Mr. Finkelstein keeps his head over socialist realism in Russia to the extent of balancing his belief that the *Pravda* criticism of 1936 was salutary with the admission that it "set harmful tendencies in motion", and that even if Shostakovich and Prokofiev profited by ideological pressures the art of musical criticism has become bleak in the Soviet Union because of them. Which is certainly true, as some recent critical biographies reaching us in English translations have shown.

What is baffling is that side by side with passages of penetrating insight are others which are far-fetched, question-begging and even nonsensical. Whoever supposed that the march tune in the finale of Vaughan Williams's 'London Symphony' represented the unemployed hunger-marchers? Albert Coates, apparently according to Mr. Finkelstein's footnote, which says that he "was close to the composer". It is much more likely to represent a ceremonial procession accompanied by the Guards band. Then too an aside on Spain speaks of General Franco as "supported directly by German and Fascist troops and indirectly by the Tory government of England, which had for a century looked on Spain as an economic province". Such naivety in accounting for Falla's silence in the last decade of his life is only partly offset by a similar but more plausible speculation about Sibelius's long silence, which argues that, while the movement for independence united the Finns, the country was subsequently rent by the divisions between Swedes and Finns and between White Guards and Communists, and that Sibelius had therefore no source of inspiration left that would not have been embarrassing. Incidentally Mr. Finkelstein does not know his Finnish folk music, as he says that it is "not a world apart, but connected with German on the one hand and Slavic on the other". On the contrary it is fashioned both

melodically and rhythmically by the intonations of the Finnish language, which is connected neither with German nor with any Slavonic language but with Hungarian, the only other Finno-Ugric language in Europe.

There are better assessments of Bartók, Vaughan Williams, Prokofiev and American jazz. But a kind of tacit assumption that peasants are always in a state of revolt and small nations always in a state of insurrection bedevils many a good argument. It is the old business of a theory being pushed too far and of an author trying to prove too much. F. H.

The French Horn. By R. Morley-Pegge. pp. xii+222. (Benn, London, 1960, 42s.)

Mr. Morley-Pegge's sub-title—'Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of its Technique'—is far too modest. This must be one of the best books on the subject in any language, written by a man who is both a scholar and a performer. He knows all about the difficulty of playing the 12th harmonic on the older valve horn in F, and he knows from practical experience how to master the technique of the hand horn. Like most wind instruments the horn has suffered in the past from some ill-advised experiments: perhaps it has suffered more than most. The omnitonic horn and the more recent Prager instrument were attempts to achieve by complicated means something that admitted a moderately simple solution. The horn has survived all these caprices. It would be comforting to say that it is better than it ever was, but that is not strictly true. The die-hards who objected to the valve horn in the past had some reason on their side. You cannot add extra tubing to a brass instrument without affecting its quality; and the danger of abandoning the hand horn was that the art of using the hand to control not only intonation but tone would be neglected. The compelling force which killed the hand horn was the actual music of the nineteenth century. The new art of orchestration demanded complete co-operation in the harmonic texture from everyone. Something was gained, but there was also a loss. Even today, when we normally never hear anything but valve horns, there would be a good argument for using hand horns for eighteenth-century music, if players could be subsidized by some rich corporation to devote themselves wholly to this instrument. As for the B \flat —F horn which is the normal instrument today it is idle to pretend that it is artistically an improvement on its predecessor. The only argument for it is that it makes things easier for the player. A horn in B \flat alto is a far less satisfying instrument than one in F; and only those who have experimented with crooks know how rich and velvety a horn in E \flat can be. A generation is now growing up which has never heard what older people would call true horn tone, just as the sound of gut strings on the violin has been forgotten in a world which prefers to hear the scrape of bows on wire. No doubt performance on the old F horn was not always adequate. Bernard Shaw speaks of a performance of the 'Freischütz' overture in which all four players bubbled atrociously. But no one who heard Aubrey Brain in his prime ever thought of the horn as a treacherous instrument.

The most decisive event in the history of the horn was its introduction

into the orchestra, which properly dates from the early eighteenth century (the horn fanfares in seventeenth-century operas were used merely as stage effects). This was as striking a development as the use of trumpets and timpani. None of these instruments had ever been thought of as suitable for indoor use. The magical horn parts in Haydn and Mozart are a tribute to the artistry of players who discovered for the first time how to make their instruments blend with the woodwind and strings. Once this was done the pursuit of virtuosity and beauty of tone followed as a matter of course. Horn-playing was no longer a side-line for trumpeters: it called for independent study and constant practice, as it still does.

All this is clearly set out in Mr. Morley-Pegge's fascinating study. My only regret is that he cannot tell us more about the eighteenth-century *Amor-Schall*. Attempts to fit the horn with keys (as on the keyed trumpet) were doomed to failure; but it would have been interesting to know what contemporary musicians thought about it. No one seems even to have drawn a picture of it, which is a pity, as it would have made an agreeable addition to Mr. Morley-Pegge's very handsome selection of plates (the date of V.6, by the way, should be 1938, not 1838). The book will obviously appeal in the first place to horn-players, but there is also a good deal in it for the ordinary music-lover, and it might persuade composers to do a little preliminary thinking the next time they have to write for the instrument.

J. A. W.

Bagpipes. By Anthony Baines. pp. 140. 'Occasional Papers on Technology', 9. (Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, 1960, 21s.)

To the average musician the mention of bagpipes conjures up only the barbaric skirl of the massed Scots war-pipes and drums, about which it is impossible for anybody to hold a neutral opinion. They are either greatly admired or heartily detested, according to the temperament of the auditor, but hardly ever merely tolerated. Far fewer people know the sound of the Northumbrian small-pipes or of the even rarer Irish Union pipes, both complex and sophisticated solo instruments in a quite different tradition from that of the Scottish *piob maoir*. Fewer still are aware that these native pipes of the British Isles are only latter-day versions of an instrument whose essential character has not altered very much since the thirteenth century and which has a wide distribution among the nations of Europe, the Near and Middle East, India and some parts of Russia. Mr. Baines is greatly to be congratulated for bringing scientific order to this confused *terra incognita*, already treated in a wider context in his previous book, 'Woodwind Instruments and their History' (reviewed in these pages in July 1957). It is also most proper that such a study should have been sponsored by the Pitt Rivers Museum, which, thanks mainly to its former curator, the late Professor Balfour, holds what Mr. Baines has described as "probably the finest extant *systematic* collection of this most important of our folk wind instruments". That circumstance has enabled him to deal authoritatively with the whole problem of the instrument's complex, and to the casual observer chaotic, typology and regional distribution; and although, according to the author, some of

his findings are necessarily arbitrary and provisional, he has applied for the first time a solid framework of description and method to its classification that is not likely to be superseded for a very long while.

The first chapter defines the instrument and describes its components, employing as far as possible the accepted terminology of the orchestral woodwind. A concise formula for stating the note-hole layout or disposition of the chanter, or melody pipe, is introduced, with some generalized particulars of the fingering technique used. A discussion of bagpipe scales, except in the most general terms, is wisely avoided, for scales are a matter for ears and instinct, not stroboscopes, and, as Mr. Baines observes, can hardly be dissociated from the larger issues of folk music as a whole.

The types of the instrument are then reviewed under five heads: primitive, Eastern Europe, the *zampogna*, Western Europe, and *musette* and small-pipe. This plan brings out the broad East-West division of chanter characteristics, namely, cylinder bore with single (beating) reed, and cone bore with double reed. The chapter on the primitive types, twice as long as any of its fellows, is especially valuable, containing as it does a survey of the earliest literary and iconographic evidence for the instrument, and a lengthy consideration of the affinities between the hornpipes (mouth-blown, but through a 'yoke', or wind-cap which prevents the lips touching the reeds) and the many varieties of the bagpipe exhibiting similar, if not identical, chanters; the general implication being that bag- and bagless pipes are in essence merely alternative versions of the same instrument. The *zampogna*, the native bagpipe of Southern Italy and Sicily, serves to introduce the West European species using the double reed, of which it is in many ways the most interesting example with its oddly sixteenth-century shawm-like double chanters. Mr. Baines also reminds us that this is the instrument imitated by Bach and Handel in their pastoral Christmas music.

No book on musical instruments can get very far without illustrating the objects described. A word of the highest praise is therefore due to Mr. K. H. H. Walters and Mr. Anthony Wootton, the resident photographer and artist, respectively, of the Pitt Rivers Museum, whose professional accomplishments in dealing with so large and varied a mass of technical detail contribute largely to raising this book into a class by itself. Ethnographers have hitherto been better served than musicologists in this most important matter. A feature of particular interest is the systematic use made of X-ray sections (introduced some years ago by myself for the examination of woodwind structures, and here reduced to line drawings for greater clarity) to illustrate the variety of step- and choke-bores, bulb-cavitation and other seemingly wilful acoustic irregularities secreted by many a straightforward exterior. Finally, before we dismiss the bagpipe once more below stairs after this brief hour of glory, let us remind ourselves how greatly the mouth-blown reed instruments from which it presumably sprang have in turn been indebted to it for their later technology. Closed chromatic keys, tenon-and-socket joints, to say nothing of deliberate irregularities of bore contour, were bagpipe features that were adapted to the orchestral woodwind prototypes when these were being developed in the middle of the seventeenth century.

E. H.

Chords and Discords. By Malcolm Tillis. pp. 212. (Phoenix, London, 1960, 18s.)

The author of this book left his position as a viola-player in the Hallé Orchestra in 1958, after five exhausting years of orchestral life. His experiences are recorded in a popular, readable style, and the volume will be enjoyed by the music-lover, who may not know that the orchestral musician is a human being who is also capable of loving music, and that human beings behave in a peculiar manner when herded together for too much of the time. The latter point is crucial: as Mr. Tillis keeps on saying, the Hallé (perhaps more than any other British orchestra) is grossly overworked. This mistake is probably due to an attempt to make an uneconomic proposition as economical as possible; but it is a disastrous policy, and one which leads inevitably to a lowering of standards and to a slackening of interest.

The book contains a wealth of anecdotage, some of which does not readily survive the transplantation from actuality to the printed page. There are also nineteen good photographs, and an index for which some reader more scholarly than I am might yet find a use. J. A. C.

A History of Song, ed. by Denis Stevens. pp. 491. (Hutchinson, London, 1960, 63s.)

As the sum rather than the seriousness of my complaints will spoil the welcome which Denis Stevens's undertaking deserves, let them come first and go first. Most of them are prompted by his hope that the book will suggest "new additions to the repertory of singers" and "reveal buried treasure".

1. *Translations.* Gerald Abraham gives English with Polish or Russian, and Gilbert Chase with Latin-American languages. Quotations are few and short, so that with no extra paper English could accompany extracts from Provençal, Old German and Spanish.

2. *Indexes.* The index of names refers only to musicians and musicographers. It does not help the research of apt comments upon Louis XIII, Petrucci or settings of Goethe; the index of titles excludes *virelai*, isorhythm, 'Roman de Fauvel', *ars nova* and heterogeneous nouns not regarded as titles but worth indexing.

3. *Bibliography.* When vast lists swell ephemeral books, mendaciously suggesting the authors' learning rather than promoting the readers', I commend the editor who observes inept fashion by the breach, demanding only pertinent sources and strongly recommended reading. Stevens has been even more rigorous. A select bibliography, taking only a page or two near the indexes, its sections corresponding with the chapters, could profitably supplement and partly replace the parentheses and footnotes that seem to comply with an editorial request.

4. *Price.* Exactly that of Vol. III of the 'New Oxford History of Music', which may cost less than books of comparable size because it has an unusual expectation of life, the patronage of foreign as well as British libraries and private buyers, and many orders in advance of publication; but since the book under review has neither pictures nor a plethora of

music, I cannot but ask if scholars have suddenly been paid at the piece-rates of disc-jockeys and innocuous journalists. The price is high, but fortunately not high enough to deter buyers.

5. *Style.* Only Gerald Abraham, Anthony Milner and Hans Nathan, by ability, care or both, control their pens to write clearly what they mean. We read:

This book is concerned with secular art-song as perceived from two main angles: historical depth and geographical breadth. History, however, is a bottomless pit, and even geography has its limitations. Thus the reader who seeks information on Chinese songs or the songs of the Ancient Greeks will certainly fail to find it in these pages.

The first sentence calls depth and breadth angles, the otiose second sentence links the unlimited and the limited by 'even', and the third is petulant about the improbable. A plain statement, that the book concerns only Western secular song from the Middle Ages, would not alert us for inflation. Again:

If it assists the musician and musical historian to grasp the essential continuity of a genre that has flourished with particular vigour during the past millenium . . .

Grasp the continuity of a vigorous millennial growth? Why 'essential' and why 'particular'? By comparison with the dance or with other millenia? It is hardly fair to quote from the foreword, but that document readily shows how well-informed and polite people can sound woolly-minded and snooty—epithets I should not use if I were a Fowlerian preserver of usage. Passing to the first chapter, by one of our best scholars of medieval music, we find an initial statement that would be questioned by anthropologists:

The history of song is obviously as old as the history of mankind.

This might not strike us if we were less ready to jib at 'obviously', so often requisitioned by plausible cunning, but here slipped in carelessly. (Reaney's most frequent mannerism is 'of course'.) Turning from the first chapter to the last, which deals with the effect of music on verse, we find that Michael Tippett has let pass some obscure and ugly sentences:

The melody in the voice part is less shaped to a tune in the direction that folk-song is shaped (folk-song poetry is all strophic), and it seems more dramatized.

Yet this occurs in what I regard as one of the best, most sensitive short discourses upon the subject from any living musician.

The declared purpose of the book justifies allocation of about sixty pages each to 'The Middle Ages' and 'The Renaissance', leaving the rest for 'The Modern Period', which is divided by countries. If the contributor on Brazil or Finland had only gathered information from reference books and biographies, reviewed printed songs, if possible inspected or secured films of manuscripts, and apportioned the thin and thick of a connected history, he would have saved others' time and served the proposed readers. All Stevens's contributors have done this well, and most have done more. David Cox, for example, wastes little space on Belgium and Holland, whose musicians so often migrated and whose most distinguished composers wrote few songs worth reviving; but the garnerings and gleanings are thoroughly appraised and the judgments backed by one or two arresting

quotations. At least one reader was newly informed by this extract from an article by Marius Flothius:

After the long gap . . . Dutch composing did not have a good reputation and publishers did not expect a large market for Dutch composers . . . Since 1946 they have had an institute which is unique . . . the Foundation Donemus (short for 'Documentation in the Netherlands for Music') which . . . replaces the work of publishers by making photo-copies . . . Every composer who associates with Donemus keeps the right to publish a work as soon as a publisher is ready to handle it.

As one of the few English musicians who understand Russian and Polish texts, Gerald Abraham has often been asked to write about the music of Eastern Europe and Russia. One could have been indulgent if he had proved more informative than interesting, but as far as I know he has not previously dealt with an assignment which enables him so fully to reveal the influence of little-known songs upon composers who are known chiefly by their operas or instrumental works. Though he has previously demonstrated points essential to the present work (e.g. characteristics of Russian pseudo-folksong), his contributions have the fascination of fresh undertakings.

A similar compliment can be passed to Reaney and Stevens for their respective chapters 'The Middle Ages' and 'The Renaissance'. Reaney's own work is partly responsible for a wish that he told us more about the *cantigas*, included a section on *Geisslerlieder*, demonstrated more clearly the structures of *virelai*, *ballade*, *rondeau*, etc., and for these purposes demanded more music illustrations (there are only five—two troubadour, two trouvère, and one *Minnesang* which happens to be late fourteenth century). If the wish implies a complaint, Reaney's achievement defends him more effectively than do the limits of paper and music. He presents the least familiar part of the history with enthusiasm and as a proportionate whole. The editor's 'The Renaissance' is also admirably proportionate and conveys his enthusiasm. He too has often spoken or written about many of the component subjects, but his work does not resemble the reduction of a longer history. On p. 69 we read:

Published examples of this genre (polyphonic songs, or madrigals) often mislead modern readers because the composer and publisher (with a business eye cast longingly in the direction of madrigal singers) have underlaid the instrumental parts with words. This fact should not obscure the true form and style of the original, for it will nearly always be found that the works are most effective when performed as songs with accompaniment, rather than as madrigals or part-songs for a group of soloists.

Which sixteenth-century part-songs were first laid out like Dowland's ayres? Without proof that madrigals (as distinct from ayres and balletts) were primarily intended for solo voice with instrumental accompaniment, Stevens is a little tendentious. I understand and share his taste, and therefore wonder why he does not mention Luzzaschi's publication of 1601 for solo voices and written-out keyboard accompaniment. His defence may also be a limited assignment of paper and music illustration—the point upon which a final and summary judgment of this book must surely turn.

No quotation is wasted, for contributors refer to the familiar only for special purpose, as Arthur Jacobs does in giving us the original of Boyce's

'Heart of Oak' or showing the influence of German upon British song; one cannot cavil at some quotations of less than first-rate music when, as in Hans Nathan's welcome chapter on American song, they are necessary documents in a balanced survey. Yet plainly the editor and contributors have faced an enforced self-denial. That few could quite hide the conditions of service is less remarkable than that many fulfilled them so creditably.

A. H.

The Music of Peru. By Robert Stevenson. pp. 331. (Pan American Union, Washington, 1959.)

The early Christians were wise enough to use as much of the pagan culture and tradition as they could, rejecting only when necessary, transforming wherever possible. In this way we have preserved for us the elements of Jewish-Greco-Roman arts in a Christian setting. Once firmly established, however, the Church seems to have forgotten its origin and to have decided, wherever possible, to obliterate the culture of a conquered nation. This distressing habit has persisted through the ages—in various degrees of mildness or severity—up to our own day, where the strong sense of the superiority of the white man still leads missionaries to force Western liturgy, art and music on a native people instead of using the methods of the early Church and retaining the natural elements of the people as far as possible. The insistence on unity becomes a craze for uniformity. Only in very recent times, as for instance at the Congress of Sacred Music in Paris (1957), has a strong movement been felt towards the use of native art and music in religious worship—a movement unfortunately almost too late.

Professor Stevenson's book makes it only too clear that, whatever the value or interest of native music in the land of the Incas, sudden death overtook it at the coming of the Spaniards. For this reason we know very little about the native culture, and even the records we have are strongly biased in favour of well-established Spanish and Portuguese theories. Most interesting is the chapter on ancient Peruvian instruments with its discussion and deductions of the carefully planned microtones of the *antaras* and the special uses of a great variety of instruments. After this chapter the book virtually becomes a history of Spanish music in Peru. However, it is by no means uninteresting and a great many useful sidelights on musical practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are to be found in its pages. Cathedral and operatic music is discussed very adequately, and one is surprised at the speed with which the very latest music is transported from Spain and Italy across the ocean and the perilous mountains to be put into immediate effect.

Only the chapter on early folk music remains tantalizingly disappointing. This would appear to be merely a popular re-hash of the newly imported music and to contain little or no elements of the old. However, this is scarcely Professor Stevenson's fault, and despite one's disappointment the chapter is useful and interesting. I find the style dry and difficult to read easily and, of course, for an English reviewer, the Americanisms distracting; but there is a wealth of scholarship here which should not be missed.

P. E. P.

Prokofiev. By Claude Samuel. pp. 187. (Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1960.)

M. Samuel is nothing if not inaccurate; he tells us that Cavos was the first to show that a Russian subject could be used for an opera, that Glinka "rediscovered folklore" which until then Russian musicians had "volontairement ignoré", that Taneiev was at some time the director of the Bolshoi Theatre, that in 1904 he was director of the Moscow Conservatoire (a post he had resigned long before) while Rimsky-Korsakov was director at St. Petersburg (which he never was), that 'Boris' was produced in Paris in 1909. But if one can allow for this little weakness, his book—based largely on Nestiev's and the memorial volume of 'Materials—Documents—Reminiscences' published in 1956—is by no means without value. He gives a clear outline of the course of Prokofiev's life, skilfully related to its changing backgrounds—the America of forty years ago, Paris between the wars, and so on—and although his criticism of the music is not particularly original or penetrating, he gives neat, concise and balanced comments on the style and quality of each work. Moreover he has some fresh information to offer: for instance, on the fate of the concerto for left hand written in 1931 for Wittgenstein and rejected by him, which has now reappeared in two versions—the original and a rewritten one first heard in the West at the Besançon Festival of 1959, played by Georges Bernand. He also reproduces two pages of Christian Science texts in English, copied in Prokofiev's hand, which came to light in Boosey & Hawkes's cellars in Paris in 1959.

The crucial problem of Prokofiev's life is, of course, the nature of the change, if any, in his creative development after his return to the U.S.S.R. On p. 106 Samuel flatly asserts:

Il n'y a pas *tournant* dans la vie de Prokofiev, il n'y a pas *cassure* dans son évolution artistique; seuls des musicologues animés au premier chef par des sentiments pro- ou antisoviétiques ont mis en vedette, pour l'expliquer selon leurs opinions politiques, le 'revirement' du compositeur. Le 'revirement' n'existe que dans leur optique faussée.

And he seizes on a concert-notice written by Asafiev in 1927 to support his view that

avant son retour en U.R.S.S., son esthétique s'accorde avec les grandes lignes de l'orthodoxie soviétique; la primauté mélodique, la simplicité des rythmes et des harmonies, l'affirmation de la tonalité, autant d'éléments naturels au génie de Prokofiev et qui lui permettront de concilier avec une relative facilité les exigences du régime et de sa personnalité créatrice.

There is some truth in that. But if there was no 'break' in Prokofiev's development, there was a decided bend—as Samuel has to admit thirty pages later:

Lorsque Prokofiev est devenu musicien soviétique . . . il recherche une simplification harmonique et puise d'abondance dans sa merveilleuse réserve de matériel thématique. Enfin, il écarte les orchestrations violentes et laisse plus souvent libre cours au lyrisme. La simplification, l'épuration d'un art étant également le fait d'un créateur qui a passé le cap de la jeunesse, il est possible que Prokofiev, indépendamment du contexte politique, eût, de tout manière, subi cette évolution. Toutefois, certaines concessions au régime furent inévitables, en particulier le choix des sujets des ouvrages lyriques.

And he goes on to quote Prokofiev's own remarks on the difficulty of

writing an opera on a Soviet subject, liable to be "immobile, petrified, devoid of ideas or, on the other hand, too edifying". There is a grim significance in the almost total creative silence in 1937-8, after a series of fiascos, of a composer who was always unhappy when he was not working.

Samuel's summing-up that Prokofiev "was not a poet" is probably accurate. The first sight of a famous French cathedral aroused in him only the wonder "how they got the statues up there". "A l'instar de Mozart ou de Schubert, Prokofiev *ne peut être que musicien*". And the anecdotes the author relates combine to give a portrait of a not particularly sympathetic human being behind the musician. G. A.

Chopin. An Index of his Works in Chronological Order. By Maurice J. E. Brown. pp. 199. (Macmillan, London, 1960, 35s.)

Although he disclaims the intention, Mr. Brown has in effect produced a Chopin 'Köchel'—an annotated thematic catalogue with incipits. "But", some may ask, "does Chopin really need such treatment, considering the relative smallness and accessibility of his output?" He does indeed. The problems of Chopin are different from those of Mozart or Schubert, but they are no less real. There are the sometimes conflicting 'first' editions in England, France and Germany, all seeming to claim equal authority; there are conflicting autographs; and there are far more juvenilia and odd works still unpublished or published only in obscure periodicals (such as the B♭ major mazurka, no. 73 in Mr. Brown's catalogue) than are commonly known. The thematic incipits are, of course, particularly valuable in these latter cases and one wonders why Mr. Brown has not given the incipit of the unpublished B major waltz (no. 166), of which Mr. Arthur Hedley possesses the autograph.

Mr. Brown, like the Polish editors of the Complete Edition, perhaps attaches too much importance to Chopin's pencilled emendations in Jane Stirling's copy of the preludes. The flat pencilled into the third bar of Op. 28, no. 20—the Polish editors say only it was added "apparently" by Chopin himself—may reflect nothing more than a passing whim or change of mind; the *largo* emendation of the tempo-marking of no. 14 was surely sarcastic or whimsical. Are we to take seriously Mozart's autograph tempo-markings in the rondo of K. 412? Surely the autograph fair copy of the preludes in the Chopin Institute at Warsaw is the best text.

Mr. Brown's 'essential facts' about each work—its composition, publication and first performance, whereabouts of the autograph or autographs, and so on—are full of interest and unexpected pieces of information. It is surprising to learn, for instance, that the 'last' mazurka, Op. 68, no. 4, was really written by Franchomme from Chopin's sketches in 1852 and omits an F major episode preserved in Chopin's manuscript. There are a number of useful appendices, dealing with works in chronological order of publication, publishers of the first editions, complete editions, Wessel's complete edition with its variant numberings, dedications, the poets of Chopin's songs, Chopin's addresses in Paris, and so on. All in all, this was a job very well worth doing and Mr. Brown has done it extremely well. G. A.

Interpretation for the Piano Student. By Joan Last. pp. 141. (Oxford University Press, London, 1960, 18s.)

Miss Last has a good reputation as a teacher and as an imaginative writer of teaching-music. This book will increase it. It does not take many years for a gifted teacher who thinks about his work to accumulate enough opinions and experience to fill a book. It may remain unwritten for lack of time or writing skill, or because a proper exercise of creative imagination will change technique from year to year and make his printed thoughts out of date. This book is not likely to become out of date, though it deals in careful and clearly expressed detail with most aspects of technique, because its emphasis is insistently laid on the composer's thought and its precise expression in sound. As Miss Last rightly complains, the biggest disadvantage of a piano is that it is too easy to produce a sound on it. The pianist who works through this book will have his ears sharpened. For instance, has he ever addressed himself to the proper accentuation of the 'cuckoo' subject of the rondo from Beethoven's B \flat concerto? How does he play Beethoven's *sforzato* on the lower note and yet avoid making the effect of an anacrusis (and avoid it he must, as Miss Last points out, since the whole point of the sly G major entry of the theme later is that it is an anacrusis)?

The most weighty criticism of the book would be that it virtually ignores this century. 'Contemporary music' occurs in the index but seems to refer to some innocuous Debussy, the most modern of the liberal music examples. Could we not gingerly explore such antique composers of teaching-music as Bartók? It might also be complained that Baroque interpretation is mentioned and dropped, with the realization that it lies beyond the capacity of the book. This is a dilemma that must be resolved. It is all very well to say that "such an important subject is one for the specialist to handle, though it should be studied as an integral part of every musician's training"; but any student who could be relied upon to follow such advice off his own bat would in no time at all become a paragon writing books instead of reading them.

I. K.

The Anatomy of Jazz. By Leroy Ostransky. pp. 362. (University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1960, \$4.75.)

It is at first sight comforting to the 'classical (or non-jazz) man' who approaches this book to find it well seasoned with knowing references to the work of musicologists like Apel, Bukofzer and Reese. Dr. Ostransky was a pupil of Reese and Sachs, and now teaches musical theory as well as the history of jazz at an American university. This should make for an unusually clear exposition of jazz in its relation to the main stream of Western music. Unfortunately, beyond the few obvious points of contact—with Baroque improvisatory techniques and with nineteenth-century harmonic apparatus—jazz is not greatly illuminated by a survey of musical history. Dr. Ostransky's summaries are tedious recitals of what is familiar to the musician, yet are unlikely to be at all comprehensible to the jazzman. Far more valuable is his consideration of the reciprocal influences of jazz and other music of our century; here his denunciation

of the pretentious woolly-mindedness that has often passed for jazz 'theory' is timely. His proposals for a revitalizing of the jazzman's basic materials by academic training in modern composition techniques are perhaps more stimulating than Stravinsky's belief in a petrified art which, "when it seeks to be influenced by contemporary music . . . isn't jazz and isn't good".

Between sketches of the past and hopes for the future the main part of the book is devoted to a study of the elements of jazz and of its stylistic development. The first of these (and the only section which completely corresponds to the title) is too short in its examination of phenomena peculiar to jazz: the outsider would welcome far more examples of contexts and fewer colourless demonstrations of *échappée* and *cambiata* formulas. He will also find tiresome the conventional manner of notating harmonic progressions in symbols above the melodic line, but no doubt the jazzman would move just as awkwardly through figured basses. Too much of the section on specific styles is taken up with details of band personnel, the staple fare of so many books that it might well have been omitted here. Though there is a good analysis of New Orleans style as a whole, the following chapters on Preswing, Swing and the variety of recent developments are most detailed in their analyses of representative performances and arrangements by Armstrong, Ellington, Basie and Gillespie, and too many other men's styles must therefore be characterized in a few lines. However, the newcomer to jazz with a reasonably developed ear requires little guidance, and most of it is here, pleasantly free from the hysterically fulsome note of so much jazz literature. It need scarcely be said that the book is no substitute for the gramophone, the only means of studying musical organisms that lose all their vitality when frozen into notation.

P. A. E.

Bollettino Quadresimale dell'Istituto di Studi Verdiani. Vol. I, No. 1. pp. xxxii + 629. (Parma-Busseto, 1960, L.3,000.)

An Institute for the Study of Verdi! One can imagine the old man's reaction to the scrutiny of musicologists—a growl to the effect that the proper place to study him is the theatre. Still, the susceptibilities of great men cannot be allowed to regulate posterity in perpetuity, and Verdi's music and dramatic art are as profitable subjects for study as any other composer's. Apart from æsthetic problems, which can be viewed with a better sense of proportion and historical context now that the Wagnerian storm has blown itself out, there are also, as Denis Vaughan has revealed, textual and interpretative problems that demand discussion. Even if one need not subscribe to the view that the composer's manuscript must always be the ultimate authority—amendments are notoriously made before publication as the result of experience at rehearsal and performance—there is obviously a need for a collation of the manuscripts with the printed scores.

Such a task the new Institute appropriately established at Parma, the capital of the province which was Verdi's home, should be well equipped to undertake. It has the support of UNESCO, the co-operation of Verdi's heirs at St. Agata, where there is still a mass of unpublished

material in the family archives, and the support of musical scholars in all parts of Europe and America. Among its activities the Institute publishes an annual bulletin in three parts, of which the first is under review. Each issue is to be devoted primarily to the study of a particular opera, the opera chosen for this first number being 'Un ballo in maschera'.

Every aspect of the opera is under discussion in the nine articles here assembled. Verdi's life during the period of its composition and his lamentable struggle with the censorship are fully set out in excerpts from Franco Abbiati's immense documentary biography and in an article by Frank Walker containing a number of hitherto unpublished letters and documents, which show that Verdi was not kept so completely in the dark about the censor's objections as he later seems to have implied. Somma's libretto is discussed at length, from a literary point of view, by Francesco Flora, who takes us as far as the end of the scene by the gibbet, while Guido Pannain subjects the music of the first act to a similarly detailed examination. Both these contributors tend to take a subjective view of their material and write in a rhetorical style that reads oddly in the rather too literal English versions printed beside a German translation after the Italian originals. All the articles appear in these three languages.

The production and scenic style of the opera is discussed by Alessandro and Nicola Benois, both of whom have designed settings for productions at the Scala and elsewhere, and the history of the opera on the stage is begun by Eugenio Gara, who might have got further than 1859, if he had not spent several pages on recapitulating the story of the opera's difficult birth. There is, indeed, need for a tighter editorial control, for the same factual material about the changes in the original libretto effected by the censorship appears at length in no fewer than four of the articles, wasting a good deal of valuable space. The editorial eye might also have detected mistakes such as a reference (p. 94) to a visit to London by Verdi for a production of 'Macbeth', which was first performed there only last year.

From the point of pure scholarship, Massimo Mila's article on the text of the recently published full score of 'Un ballo in maschera' may be set beside Walker's exemplary presentation of his biographical material. Mila's attitude towards the questions raised by Denis Vaughan's researches into the manuscripts seems to me eminently sensible and well-balanced. He has not had the advantage of being able to collate the new edition with Verdi's manuscript, but he subjects it to a minute comparison with the edition of 1914. From this it appears that the publishers have incorporated in the new score a great many markings by one or more anonymous conductors, without any indication of what authority these glosses have. If nothing else proved the value of the new Institute's work and the need for the critical edition of Verdi's operas that the Institute is qualified to sponsor, this article would amply suffice.

The briefest article comes from Herbert Graf in America, who contributes two pages on the staging of the opera without saying anything very cogent. He ends with a suggestion that "the *régisseur* . . . ought to restore the original locale, period and costumes", evidently unaware that this was done some years ago at Covent Garden in Professor Dent's version and more recently in Stockholm by the Swedish Opera, whose radical reconstruction of the opera in its proper milieu was seen at

Edinburgh in 1959 and in London last September. Besides an article on recordings of the opera there are two more general contributions—an interesting character-study of Verdi by Riccardo Bacchelli who does not omit the warts, and some unpublished jottings on Verdi by Bruno Barilli, which include some amusing anecdotes. The Bulletin is obtainable by subscription (L.7500 for three issues) from the Director of the Institute, Via del Conservatorio 27, Parma, Italy. D.H.

Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. Recueils imprimés, XVI^e—XVII^e siècles, I, ed. by François Lesure. pp. 639. (Henle, Munich; Novello, London, 1960, £6 16s.; subscription price, £6.)

The replacement of Eitner is a formidable undertaking, which must have involved, and must still involve, an enormous amount of hard work and not a little frustration. For the editor and his helpers the frustration must have been worse than the labour. We read, for instance, that in Holland the work of supplying information has not yet been properly organized and that in Portugal no information was forthcoming from the National Library at Lisbon. In spite of these difficulties M. Lesure has produced an impressive volume, edited with the scrupulous care that we expect from him and laid out in such a way that the reader can find what he wants quickly and is not put off by a multitude of unintelligible symbols. It was probably sensible to ignore capitalization of titles, as the 'British Union Catalogue' has done, since it would have been difficult to secure uniformity from all the contributors and also this is a work of reference, not a bibliography. The volume begins splendidly with Petrucci's 'Harmonice musices Odhecaton' of 1501, of which only one copy survives, and ends modestly with 'A Choice Collection of Ayres for the harpsichord or spinett' by Blow, Piggott, Clarke, Barrett and Croft, which also has the distinction of being represented by a single example. Between these entries are a multitude of collections, some of which are a household word among musicians while others will come as new discoveries. The index does not put the reader on the track of everything that he is looking for; for that we must wait for the second volume. Specialists will inevitably discover omissions. A review is no place for discussing these, whether in malice or in glee. A letter to the editor is the most helpful remedy. The end of this gigantic enterprise is hardly in sight, but if it goes on as well as it began it should be crowned with success. The introductory material is generously offered us in three languages and for once the English version is worthy of its place: only a few details betray an inexperienced hand, e.g. 'must have sought' for 'ont dû rechercher' instead of 'had to look for', and 'on the other hand' for 'd'autre part' instead of 'also'. Nor is the price, high as it is, anything to complain about: the volume could hardly have been produced for less.

J. A. W.

REVIEWS OF MUSIC

COLLECTED EDITIONS

Boccherini, 4 *Quintettini*, Op. 30; 6 *Quartettini*, Op. 33 piccola, ed. by Pina Carmirelli.

Vivaldi, *Concerto*, C major; *Concerto*, F major, ed. by Piero Giorgi.

'Classici Italiani della Musica', 1 & 2. (Del Turco, Rome; Oxford University Press, 1960, 52s. 6d. & 42s.)

The rather petulant complaint that Boccherini has not been given a fraction of the critical attention lavished on Mozart reads oddly in the preface to this volume of his slighter offerings. It may be that, with the publishing of other manuscripts, his "true value will be appreciated . . . and we will be compelled to rank him much higher than we do today". This would seem to be a good reason for producing the best of the unknown Boccherini at once, and it is difficult to believe that the present selection consistently approaches this. It contains two-movement miniatures of unfailing invention, particularly ingenious in devising original and effective string textures; apt juxtaposition of these sometimes produces delightfully unexpected formal patterns. Movements so short and of such excellent craft do not easily become wearisome (unlike some more ambitious Boccherini)—which leaves us a long way from Mozartian command of a wide-ranging emotional scheme. The last quintet is programmatic, a picture of Madrid's night-music in which the cellos are played in *traverso* to imitate guitars, and a street song appears (in 'Los Manolos') more convincing than much more opulent pseudo-Spanish pastiche; the final variations on the 'Ritirata Notturna' sustain a threadbare harmonic scheme by diversity of instrumental lay-out. A large clear format enables the editor to present a text in which her performing directions are easily distinguished from the original, and the preface by Alfredo Bonaccorsi (including some unusually futile analytical detail) has been rendered into English by a musician.

This trivial point is mentioned only because the English reader of the Vivaldi volume is constantly sent back to the original text by the ineptitudes and often sheer incomprehensibility of the translated preface. We may not pause over a part "written in the contralto key" nor over the repeated references to the 'shawn', but our deductive powers may well founder on a part "given to the violoncello (without execution however)"; this painstakingly misinterprets "affidato al violoncello (senza però la realizzazione)". It is not obvious why these two concertos appear in an Italian series quite divorced from the Ricordi complete edition, but they are particularly rich specimens and worth having sooner in this way. No identification beyond their Dresden numbers is given here; in Pincherle's inventory they are Nos. 16 and 267. The C major concerto uses two flutes, two mandolines, two theorbos, two *violini in tromba marina*, a solo cello and two *salmò* as constantly varied *concertino* colour in a splendid piece of ceremonial music which opened the Pietà's contribution

to the Venetian festivities in honour of the Prince of Poland (1740). The preface informs us that the *trombe marine* have been replaced here by second violins, yet one look at the parts confirms Pincherle's view that they were never intended for anything but 'prepared' violins. But his belief that this imitation consisted of persistent use of natural harmonics is wide of the mark: Vivaldi's imitation is not of the monochord's harmonic series but quite simply of brass fanfare effects. As these involve admirably laid out double stopping for both violins (a patent impossibility on the old instrument), it destroys his point to divide the chords among four players, as here. A more vexed problem is presented by the *salmò*; here Pincherle's argument tails off without reaching a firm decision. However, if we can accept the persistent doubling of the *ripieno* bass at the higher octave (common enough in viola parts, and these are missing here), it is possible to see good grounds in the *concertino* sections for his view that the *salmò* was a *chalmereau* type, if not in fact a clarinet, and sounded an octave above this bass clef notation. Giorgi has preferred to equate the word with the double reed shawm and prescribes bassoons, effective enough in the *ripieno* sections but sometimes gruff and \sharp -ish in their solo writing.

The F major concerto, for the Brandenburg No. 1 group minus one oboe, is essentially a violin concerto, but of unusual magnificence. Its *ritornelli* are very long paragraphs so as to accommodate wind contrasts and leave the structural *concertino* sections to the violin. In the first movement the *ritornello* is a progressive thought, symphonically expository rather than merely definitive, and with a bold sweep of key. The finale has less distinctive material, but the solo episodes compensate in brilliance and intricacy of figuration. A spidery keyboard part is no substitute for the figuring which a casual reference in the preface reveals to have been omitted, but in every other way the text and editorial suggestions are well presented. Indeed, the general appearance of both these volumes sets a high standard for the series, which is produced under the auspices of the International Council for Music (UNESCO). It remains to be seen whether it can find a territory for exploration that is distinctively its own.

P. A. E.

Haydn, Joseph, *Werke*.

Ser. IV: *Die Sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuze* (orchestral version), ed. by Hubert Unverricht.

Ser. XXV, Vol. 2: *La Canterina* (*intermezzo in musica*), ed. by Dénes Bartha. (Henle, Munich, 1959, DM. 23.50 & 28.75.)

Haydn wrote three versions of the 'Seven Words', of which this is the earliest. So far as I know this is the first modern edition of the complete work in this form. Though the string quartet version is undeniably effective, there are many passages which gain a good deal from an orchestral performance—for example, the doubling of the first violin by the cello at the octave in Sonata II, the flute solo after the pause in Sonata III and the oboe solo at the end of the first section in the same piece, the passage for oboes and horns in bars 8–12 of Sonata VII, and naturally enough the whole of 'Il terremoto', where trumpets and timpani are used for the first time.

'La Canterina' is the second of Haydn's dramatic works to survive. It was first performed at Esterházy in 1767. As in 'Lo speziale' there are only four characters—a *maestro di cappella*, a soprano singer, the singer's bogus mother, and Don Ettore, the son of a merchant. The piece is to some extent a satire on the opera of the time. There is a splendid *recitativo accompagnato*, in which the singer has nothing to do but make a few interjections: the orchestra have all the fun. Performed with an accurate sense of style the work should prove amusing even to those who are unfamiliar with the conventions of the period. The music bubbles along happily, and even when it is pathetic, as in the *canterina's* aria with two *cors anglais*, we are obviously not meant to take it too seriously. At the first performance the part of Apollonia, the *finta madre*, was sung by a man and Don Ettore by a woman. An astute producer would see a distinct advantage in retaining this casting, even though Haydn himself seems to have expected Apollonia to be a soprano.

J. A. W.

BALLET

Monteverdi, Claudio, *Il ballo delle ingrate*, ed. with an English translation by Denis Stevens. Full score. (Schott, London, 1960, 17s. 6d.)

Monteverdi was clearly more interested in the *anime ingrate* than in the pleas made on their behalf by Amor and Venus. The best music comes at the end, which is as fine as anything in 'Orfeo' and unsurpassed by anything in his later work. The present edition has the advantage of incorporating a second violin part which is missing in Malipiero's text. Ornaments are reserved for cadences and printed in small type. The continuo part is simple but not ineffective, and leaves an imaginative player plenty of scope for embroidering its outlines. There are one or two places where I would have used a slightly different progression; but Monteverdi's basses, sparsely figured as they are, are not always easy to harmonize, and Mr. Stevens's guess is as likely to be right as mine.

My only criticism is of the translation, which is frequently clumsy and not always accurate. Take for instance the words in which Pluto addresses the duchess and her ladies:

Dal tenebroso orror del mio gran regno
(Fugga, Donna, il timor dal molle seno)
Arso di nova fiamma al ciel sereno
Donna o donzella per rapir non vegno.

This is such an involved sentence that I doubt whether it is easily intelligible to an Italian when sung: it is much more poetry designed for the reader. For that reason a translator could do much to help the listener by breaking down the inversion. The translation in this edition does not help in this respect. It runs:

Out of the gloomy depths of my vast kingdom
(Banish, ladies, all fear of me from your hearts)
Burning with new desire for cloudless heavens,
Ladies and maidens, I come not to claim you.

But Pluto is not burning with new desire for cloudless heavens. 'Al ciel

sereno' goes with 'vegno'. A paraphrase would run: 'Do not be afraid, lady [singular, if 'donna' is read]. My purpose in coming up to earth from Hades is not this time to ravish ladies'. 'Arso di nova fiamma' is an allusion to a previous occasion when he carried off Proserpine. Again:

Vaglia timor di sempiterni affanni,
Se forza in voi non han sospiri e prieghi

does not mean:

Consider now the fear of pain eternal,
If you ignore your lovers' sighing and pleading.

It means: 'If sighs and prayers will not move you, at least let the fear of eternal suffering prevail', which is not quite the same thing. J. A. W.

CHAMBER MUSIC

- Carse, Adam, *Terzetto* for violin, viola and cello. (Augener, London, 1960, 7s. 7d.)
 Colista, Lelio, *Sonata No. IV*, D major, for two violins, bass viol and organ or harpsichord, ed. by Michael Tilmouth. (Stainer & Bell, London, 1960, 7s. 6d.)
 Martinu, Bohuslav, *Promenades* for flute, violin and harpsichord (or piano). (Bärenreiter, Cassel & Basel; Novello, London, 1959, 21s.)
 Rochberg, George, *Duo concertante* for violin and cello. (Theodore Presser Co., Bryn Mawr; Universal Edition, London, 1960, 15s.)
 Székely, Endre, *Wind Quintet* for flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon and horn. Miniature score. (Mills Music, London, 1960, 7s. 6d.)
 Twinn, Sydney, *Andante and Allegro* for two violins and viola. (Augener, London, 1960, 6s.)
 Vitali, G. B., *Sonata*, Op. 5, no. 8 ('La Guidoni'), for two violins, bass viol and organ or harpsichord, ed. by Michael Tilmouth. (Stainer & Bell, London, 1960, 7s. 6d.)
 Wilkinson, Marc, *Voices from 'Waiting for Godot'*, for contralto, flute, E♭ clarinet, bass clarinet and cello. (Universal Edition, London, 1960, 8s. 6d.)

This group of chamber works is curiously depressing. Apart from two amiable seventeenth-century trio sonatas all the works are recent, though from their diversity of style one might scarcely believe that Messrs. Carse, Wilkinson, Twinn and Rochberg belonged to the same civilization, let alone the same century. Diversity of style is nothing to complain of in itself. The twentieth century has been greatly enriched by the co-existence (not always peaceful) of such widely different composers as Bartók, Berg, Stravinsky, Webern, Hindemith, Schönberg, Vaughan Williams and Strauss. But there is another side to the picture. Lesser composers, who in an earlier period would have achieved the modest success of Colista or Vitali, tend to be overwhelmed by the plethora of styles and creeds and emerge either as academic pasticheurs or as rabid, intolerant post-Webernites.

Little need be said about the works by Carse and Twinn. Martinu's 'Promenades' are written in the manner of Falla's harpsichord concerto

or Stravinsky's 'Pulcinella', but none of them achieve an equal distinction of style. The notes slip by agreeably enough, the instrumental writing is pleasant, but there are too many clichés for the music to be worth more than an occasional hearing. Rochberg's 'Duo concertante', on the other hand, seems to be influenced by the least agreeable elements of Schönberg's style. It is explosive and as dissonant as can be expected when only two string instruments are involved, and towards the end lapses into what has justly been called Schönberg's 'Morse code' manner. It might be effective if played with an impassioned and diabolical ingenuity. Székely's wind quintet begins with a banal Magyar gesture. It is an easy work to understand but lacks both originality of ideas and ingenuity in deploying them.

Marc Wilkinson is the post-Webernite *par excellence*. His work is not easy to judge. It employs new methods of woodwind technique, formerly regarded as signs of poor performance, which are intended to mirror certain consonantal sounds in the text. The voice-part alternates between speech and song—a procedure which would be more convincing if the verbal accentuation were more natural. Words like 'of' and 'to', spoken very slowly, sound curiously embarrassing, nor does the indefinite article seem the best place for a climax in the extremely angular but expressive vocal line (bar 182). The instrumental parts are full of the leaps and bounds that we have learned to associate with this type of music and the score as a whole looks forbiddingly complex, perhaps because the instrumental parts appear on the page only when they have something to play. I have heard the piece only once but suggest that it looks more interesting than it sounds.

The trio sonatas by Colista and Vitali do not show half Purcell's imagination or invention, but they are pleasant to play, concise in design and suave in style. They have been admirably edited by Michael Tilmouth, who has supplied an excellent continuo part for those who require such things.

R. J. D.

Morley, Thomas (ed.), *The First Book of Consort Lessons*, reconstructed and ed. by Sydney Beck. (New York Public Library, 1959, paper covers, £9 7s. 6d.; bound, £13 2s. 6d.)

Morley's 'Booke of Consort Lessons', first published in 1599 and reissued in 1611, has long been regarded as one of the most elusive collections of the period. It was small comfort to know that a complete set of part-books was once in the library of John IV of Portugal, since they perished in the earthquake of 1755. In recent years, however, more and more material has come to light, either in print or in manuscript, and there is now enough to justify the publication of a modern edition. Even the missing lute part could be supplied from manuscript for nine of the 25 pieces, and this is sufficiently elaborate to absolve Mr. Beck from any charge of extravagance in his conjectural restoration in the remaining sixteen.

The title-page of the first edition describes the contents as "newly set forth at the coast & charges of a Gentle-man, for his private pleasure, and for divers others his frendes which delight in Musicke". Mr. Beck suggests that the gentleman who paid for publication was Richard

Allison, and although this cannot be proved it is at least a reasonable assumption. The dedication to the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London makes it clear that the collection was intended in the first place for the City waits, whose duties included performance in the theatre. It is therefore a reasonable guess that much, if not all, of this music was originally written to serve as incidental music in plays. The collection would also be useful for private patrons like Sir William Gascoyne of Sedbury who maintained a group of professional musicians or were able to hire them for particular occasions. Performance by amateurs is not ruled out. The pieces, says Morley, "bee not curious, for that men may by diligence make use of them: and the exquisite Musitian may adde in the handling of them to his greater commendation". The last sentence allows for improvised ornamentation over and above what is already in the text, and this has encouraged Mr. Beck to make suggestions of his own, which are printed in small type.

The combination of six different instruments—treble lute, pandora, cittern, bass viol, flute and treble viol—was a peculiarly English practice and was recognised as such on the Continent. But it is hardly accurate to say, as Mr. Beck does, that it "can be considered an orchestra in embryo": it remains a chamber group, and one that had few successors before the twentieth century. Much of its charm results from the use of three plucked instruments playing different parts, and their evanescent tone makes possible clashes, particularly in cadences, which would hardly be tolerable on more resonant instruments. The writing for the lute, cittern and pandora in combination with other instruments not only illustrates English practice at the time: it is also a pointer to possible ways of using them to fill up a *basso continuo* in seventeenth-century music. And those who imagine that nothing more is expected of these instruments than a delicate tinkling would do well to look at the brisk thrumming in the latter part of the 'De la tromba pavin' (No. 3).

The flute part, written in the original either in the alto or the mezzo-soprano clef, presents a problem. It goes as low as F below middle C, and any instrument of this pitch will inevitably sound weak by comparison with the treble viol. There is no question that it is an inner part, but Mr. Beck's suggestion that it was actually played an octave higher is very plausible. He cites Praetorius to point out that instruments of this higher pitch create the illusion that the sounds they produce are an octave lower than they are. As for the type of instrument employed the picture of the wedding masque for Sir Henry Unton, reproduced here in colour, would suggest that it was in fact a transverse flute.

Students of Shakespeare do not need to be reminded that this collection includes 'O mistress mine'. Mr. Beck does not exactly commit himself but seems inclined to think that it may be associated with the song in 'Twelfth Night'. I have always viewed this assumption with suspicion: the words can be fitted only by a sort of Procrustean operation. However, this does not prevent instrumental players from enjoying the piece: in fact everything in the volume is calculated to give them pleasure, and there is no reason why they should be deterred by a lack of players for all three plucked instruments. The lute stop on the harpsichord makes a very good substitute for the genuine instrument, and the

guitar would make a useful substitute for one of the others. But no one is going to play any of the pieces if they have to buy this volume first. The editor pays tribute to the generosity of the late Louis M. Rabinowitz in making the publication possible; but if it was subsidized it is difficult to see why it should be sold at a price which even in these days must be regarded as exorbitant. We must hope that the C. F. Peters Corporation, who publish the volume for the New York Public Library, will issue as soon as possible a popular edition (with parts) of the music, without the introduction and notes. Purchasers will miss the fruits of Mr. Beck's scholarship but at least they will have something that they can afford. A practical edition—which is what this is—ought not to languish in a library.

J. A. W.

CHORAL MUSIC

Berkeley, Lennox, *Missa brevis* for mixed voices and organ. (Chester, London, 1960.)

Britten, Benjamin, *Cantata Academica (Carmen Basiliense)* for soli, chorus and orchestra. Miniature score. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1960, 17s. 6d.)

Fourteen Psalm-Settings of the Early Reformed Church in Scotland, ed. by Kenneth Elliott. (Oxford University Press, 1960.)

Gal, Hans, *Songs of Youth*, Op. 75, for female voices. 1. *Crabbèd Age and Youth*. 2. *Love is a sickness*. 3. *Tell me where is Fancy bred*. 4. *Capriccio*. 5. *Epilogue*. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1959.)

Rhau, Georg, *Musikdrucke aus den Jahren 1538 bis 1545. III: Symphoniae jucundae* (1538), ed. by Hans Albrecht. (Bärenreiter, Cassel & Basel; Novello, London, 1959, 70s.)

Saunders, Neil, *Missa brevis* for S.A.T.B. (unaccompanied). *Magnificat* for S.S.A.T.B. (unaccompanied.) (Chester, London, 1960, 3s. each.)

Schütz, Heinrich, *Benedicam Dominum* for two four-part choirs, soli and continuo. (Bärenreiter, Cassel & Basel; Novello, London, 1959, 24s. 6d.)

Tate, Phyllis, *Witches and Spells*, for women's voices and piano. (Oxford University Press, London, 1960, 4s.)

Vivaldi, Antonio, *Magnificat*, for soli, chorus and orchestra, ed. by G. F. Malipiero. Score. (Ricordi, Milan, 1959, 15s.)

Weelkes, Thomas, *Gloria in excelsis*, for S.S.A.A.T.B., edited by Walter S. Collins. (Oxford University Press, 1960, 1s. 6d.)

It is heartening to observe an awakening in the field of liturgical church music. In the last issue of this magazine Britten's 'Missa Brevis' was reviewed, and now we have examples by Berkeley and Neil Saunders. Both have something new to say, Berkeley's style being more convincing perhaps. His is an accompanied setting in which the organ is discreetly used, whereas Saunders writes for voices alone; in both settings male altos have some uncomfortable top D's, but apart from this they are admirably written for voices. Saunders appears to be far happier in setting the 'Magnificat' (in Latin). It is for five voices *a cappella*, simple, original and very effective. Phyllis Tate's 'Witches and Spells' comprises four contrasting songs which make considerable demands on the voices.

But they are worthy of the hard work necessary for their effectiveness: they are certainly challenging. Of the five 'Songs of Youth' by Hans Gal, 'Tell me, where is fancy bred' is the only one worthy of comment; it has a certain charm in its opening phrase, and the 'ding, dong bell' section should come off well.

The homophonic settings in Kenneth Elliott's collection of psalm-settings are the Scottish counterpart of the Genevan psalm tunes. The editor includes two of the more extended imitative examples by Andro Blackhall which would be suitable as anthems in the English church, but the use of the remainder would be very restricted. In the latter the melody is in the tenor, and half of them are familiar as hymn tunes. Walter Collins's edition of the Weelkes 'Gloria' replaces that by Fellowes: he is able to supply the composer's second soprano part which Fellowes failed to discover.

How envious one must be of Bärenreiter's prolific publications of early music. The handsome volume of 'Symphoniae Jucundae' contains 52 motets chosen by Rhau to form an anthology of choral music suitable for amateur music-making. The somewhat verbose foreword gives a detailed history of the collection and of Luther's connection with it. The most interesting point of all is that the composers are European rather than German, and of the twenty-five who are named only six are German. The best-known among them are Josquin, Isaac, de la Rue, Mouton, Senfl, de Sermisy, Verdelot, Walter and Willaert. Throughout the collection the accent is on simplicity; there are many very short pieces, and although some of the longer ones are divided into the familiar two sections (i.e. *prima pars*, *altera pars*) the texture is never complex and the rhythms are straightforward. The format of this edition is the accepted contemporary German one—bar-lines between staves, note-values halved, modern clefs, no tied notes (except in one place where a dotted breve would have extended to the next stave and the editor has lost his nerve). Much of the editorial *musica ficta* is highly suspect and some of it quite out of the question (e.g., on p. 41 the E♭'s convert a perfectly normal passage into one which was certainly unheard of until about 1650 or so). The critical commentary is extensive and thorough and there are useful short biographical notes on all the composers. Both the latter and the foreword are given in German and English.

The splendour of Schütz's 'Benedicam Dominum' will depend almost as much on the antiphonal placing of the singers as on the music itself. This will bring to life the different varieties of vocal 'scoring'—sometimes one soloist of one choir against one of the other choir, sometimes one choir against the other, sometimes the four voices of each choir joining to form eight real parts. There are a few striking harmonic effects, but on the whole the style is conventional. The influence of Italian opera is best seen in the short passage 'Gustate et videte' (bar 164). The design of the work as a whole is an obvious ABA, both with regard to words and music, the middle section containing more florid and imitative passages than those which envelop it. The Vivaldi 'Magnificat' has alternate settings for five of its sections. These were composed for a specific performance and each has the name of the singer for whom it was written. They require highly skilled *coloratura* sopranos and contraltos, whereas

the original arias are well within the reach of the average singer and some have interjections from the chorus within them. The most striking thing about the work is the extreme chromaticism of some of the choral passages, and the freshness of the work as a whole.

Boosey and Hawkes have lost no time in issuing a miniature score of Britten's cantata 'Carmen Basiliense', written for the 500th anniversary of the University of Basel and performed there last July. It is an exhilarating work which thrives on the many so-called academic procedures such as canon and fugue rather than being ham-strung by them. The text is in Latin but where it deals specifically with Basel there are alternative words, so that it can be performed at similar ceremonies elsewhere—a wise procedure. The format is very small and many parts of it make uncomfortable reading. The whole work lasts twenty minutes, and the full orchestra includes a battery of four players.

B. W. G. R.

Gesualdo di Venosa, *Responsoria et alia ad officium Hebdomadae Sanctae spectantia*, ed. by Glenn E. Watkins. (Ugrino Verlag, Hamburg, 1959.)

Tres Sacrae Cationes, completed by Igor Stravinsky. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1960.)

Rossini, *Messe solennelle*, for four solo voices and chorus. Vocal score. (Ricordi, London, 1960, 21s.)

The publication of Gesualdo's 'Responsoria' by an American scholar is a valuable addition to our knowledge of this composer's work. As in the madrigals, passages of innocuous diatonic counterpoint alternate with chromaticism, which makes all the more vivid effect because it is unexpected in church music. Yet there is no serious incongruity of style, and much that is beautiful in a simple unaffected way. Whatever one may think about Gesualdo, no one can justly call him an amateur: there is professional competence on every page. The present edition, uniform with the same publisher's issue of the madrigals (still in progress), has no *apparatus criticus*, but the editor explains his methods in detail, and the text seems to show no signs of wanton interference with what the composer wrote. It is presumably the publisher who is responsible for the misleading statement "nach dem Partiturdruk von 1611 herausgegeben": the work was in fact issued in parts.

Gesualdo published two earlier collections of church music, both described as 'Sacrarum Cationum Liber I', perhaps because the first set was for five voices and the second mainly for six. Fourteen pieces from the first set were printed in vol. v of 'Istituzioni e monumenti dell'arte musica italiana' in 1934. The pieces in the second set have remained unpublished because the *sextus* and *bassus* part-books are missing. This has stimulated Stravinsky to add parts of his own to three of the pieces. The result cannot be described as a success. It is all very well for the anonymous author of the preface (does 'R. C.' = Robert Craft?) to say that we have something "that is not pure Gesualdo, but a fusion of the two composers". It is in fact nothing of the kind. And it is nonsense to say that "Gesualdo could have written everything that Stravinsky has added": almost every bar of Stravinsky's version is a violation of Gesualdo's style. If a student produced anything as barbarous as this he would be sent away to study

the music of the period. And it is safe to say that if anyone but Stravinsky had perpetrated this hotchpotch it would never have found a publisher.

Rossini described his 'Petite Messe Solennelle' as "le dernier péché mortel de ma vieillesse". It is a very handsome transgression—indeed one of his best works, even if the contrapuntal choruses do go on a little too long. The vocal writing is superb, and the tone of the whole is dignified. This beautifully produced vocal score, which includes the original harmonium part, ought to do something to make the work better known. I should be surprised if performances do not begin to multiply.

J. A. W.

CLARINET AND PIANO

Keys, Ivor, *Concerto* for clarinet and strings. Piano score. (Novello, London, 1959, 8s.)

This is an ambitious work in a harmonically weighty and rather self-conscious Romantic idiom. It is a Toveyish kind of music, admirable rather than inspired or attractive. Themes do not seem to come to the composer easily, and those of the first and last movement (the last a set of variations) have a strained sound. The middle movement, where he slips into an easy sub-Waltonian lushness, is more relaxed and spontaneous-seeming.

C. M.

FOLKSONG

Songs of the Irish, ed. by Donal O'Sullivan. (Browne & Nolan, Dublin, 1960, 25s.)

This handsome anthology has been chosen by Dr. O'Sullivan to sort out for an English reader the truth and error about the various sorts of song that have reached him out of Ireland. He knows 'The minstrel boy' from Moore, 'The wearing of the green' from Boucicault, 'Father O'Flynn' from A. P. Graves, 'Down by the Salley Gardens' from Yeats, and is also aware that there is a large corpus of tunes to Gaelic words in the collections of Bunting, Petrie and Joyce, as well as Victorian ballads about the stage Irishman:

'Twas the little pigs had done it,
Och, the dear little girl!

How many genuine traditions of Irish song are there, how far have well-meaning advocates like A. P. Graves contaminated them, and what use can be made of them by non-Gaelic singers?

These questions are resolved in Dr. O'Sullivan's introduction. The body of the book consists of songs to Gaelic texts, for which English translations often in assonantal verse modelled on Gaelic verse forms have been provided along with a more literal prose version for the sake of literal accuracy. It is worth remark that the rhythms of Irish Gaelic go more easily into English than Scots Gaelic and that for this reason Irish tunes with English words have had so general and so long a vogue among English singers. The tunes come from recognized sources and their

provenance is acknowledged in a special index. They present the familiar Irish features, the thrice-repeated note cadence, the elaborate anacrusis, the favoured interval of the sixth and a wide compass. Some of the poems are not folk but of known authorship, but this and other nice points of historical scholarship are duly registered by the editor, who explains that most of the melodies were noted independently of the words, "since the collectors of the tunes did not know Irish and the collectors of the verse did not know music".

There are 65 songs grouped in fifteen categories according to subject. Dr. O'Sullivan's aim has been to reveal the life and soul of the Irish to those who have not and never will have any Gaelic, while at the same time being scrupulously faithful to the Gaelic letter and to the ethos of the song which is enshrined in the Gaelic. He is a scholar and has enough sense not to spoil a good and well worthwhile job by tendentious nationalism. His work as an interpreter of Ireland to England in this book is to be warmly commended.

F. H.

OPERA

Puccini, Giacomo, *Gianni Schicchi*. New English version by Anne & Herbert Grossman. Vocal score. (Ricordi, New York, 1959, 50s.)

Not only a new English version but a newly engraved score. The notes are smaller than in the original edition but are perfectly clear and readable. The translators have tackled a difficult task. If they have not wholly succeeded, it is partly because comic opera is a tricky business and partly because they have not always thought about the singers. The problem here is to find words that sound natural and at the same time to avoid colloquialisms which superimpose laughter on what the composer has intended. In the first scene Simone is discussing what will happen if Buoso's will is seen by a lawyer and the friars get his money. He goes on:

Se però ce l'avesse lasciato in questa stanza,
Guaio pei frati, ma per noi: speranza!

This is translated:

If however the will has been hidden in this chamber
Maybe their paunches won't be so enormous.

This fits the music reasonably well but will hardly do as a translation. Basically the lines mean that the friars will not get the money and we may. The contrast between loss and possible gain is missed entirely, and the unnatural word 'paunches' is dragged in presumably because the translators could not think of anything better. Here is another example later on:

LAURETTA: Babbo, si può sapere? . . .
L'uccellino non vuole più minuzzoli . . .
GIANNI SCHICCHI: Ora dægli da bere!

The English version runs:

LAURETTA: Daddy, would you believe it? . . .
The little bird isn't int'rested in eating!
GIANNI SCHICCHI: Well, then offer him water!

This is unhappy for various reasons. 'Little bird' will not do for 'uccellino': the English adjective attracts far more attention than is justified by the Italian diminutive. 'Int'rested in eating' is far too cumbersome for a plain statement; and you do not offer a bird water, you give it to him. Why not 'Very well, let him drink' and tie the two quavers at the end?

More serious, perhaps, is the failure to get vowel sounds equivalent in weight to the long syllables in the original. With a touching respect for tradition the translators make Lauretta sing 'Oh! my beloved daddy', but this is quite inadequate for 'Oh! mio babbino caro' with its pressure on the 'i' of 'babbino' and the 'a' of 'caro'. Similarly 'He says he's coming' will not do for 'E qui che viene'. The first three words will not fit naturally on to a triplet in fast tempo and 'coming' throws away all the emphasis that 'viene' carries. It will be said that this is pernickety criticism and that English singers are constantly singing short vowels on long notes; but this merely shows that not only translators but English composers are extraordinarily insensitive to the sounds of our language or else know nothing about singing. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that this is a worthless version. There are many happy touches in it, and in general it is far superior to many older versions of Italian operas. It is merely that the translators might have taken a little more trouble over details. A final grumble: why translate 'per giorni e giorni' by 'for weeks and weeks'? And can 'mulino' mean a sawmill?

J. A. W.

Purcell, Henry, *Dido and Aeneas*, ed. by Benjamin Britten & Imogen Holst. Vocal score. (Boosey & Hawkes, 1960, 17s. 6d.)

Since there is no contemporary score of Purcell's opera a modern editor must be guided by his view of the reliability of eighteenth-century copies. Miss Holst (in an appendix to her symposium on Purcell) thinks that the manuscript now in Japan "may bring us nearer to what Purcell intended". This is a pious hope, but there are no grounds for believing that it can be realized. Certainly one of the passages to which she refers (bar 1 of p. 22 in this edition) does not suggest to me an authentic record of what Purcell wrote (the words are "of love and of beauty", just before "Go revel, ye Cupids"). My objection is not to the augmented fourth in the soprano, which is natural enough, but to the harmonic progression as a whole. There are plenty of rough passages in Purcell, but they all admit a logical explanation: this one does not. I also feel dubious about the alternation of flats and naturals in Dido's final recitative. However, these are matters which editors must decide for themselves: it is impossible to prove conclusively that they are wrong, one can only appeal to instinct and to a close familiarity with Purcell's style.

A new feature of this edition is the provision of music for the scene in the libretto which follows Aeneas's soliloquy: first, a piece borrowed from 'The Indian Queen' ('What flatt'ring noise is this?'), next an adaption of a chorus from the welcome song 'Sound the trumpet' ('To Urania and Caesar delights without measure'), with the harmony of the opening bar altered, and finally a section chopped out of the overture to 'Sir Anthony Love'. These fit well enough, but there is no evidence that Purcell set these words, and I remain unconvinced that anything

is lost by leaving them out. From the dramatic point of view it is far more effective to end the scene with Aeneas's solo, and I cannot help believing that Purcell thought so too. This is quite a useful practical edition, though the continuo part is sometimes unnecessarily fussy. People who write these parts tend to forget that it is the singer that matters: the accompaniment is purely subordinate. We are referred to the full score for details of the manuscripts, which will no doubt contain justification of the readings, but this has not been received at the time of writing.

J. A. W.

Weisgall, Hugo, *Purgatory*. Opera in one act. Vocal score. (Theodore Presser Co., Bryn Mawr, Penn., 1959, 25s.)

This is a setting of Yeats's play. It has only two characters, the Old Man (bass) and the Young Boy (tenor or high baritone), with small orchestra. There is a certain dramatic force in the music, though there is little distinction of character in the melodic lines, and the opaquely dissonant harmony, which is like wrong-note Wagner or Scriabin with the sweetness extracted, lacks purposeful, interesting movement or variety of tension.

C. M.

ORATORIO

Haydn, Joseph, *Die Schöpfung*, ed. by Paul Klengel. English translation by Mevanwy Roberts. French translation by Amédée and Frieda Boutarel. Vocal score. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden, 17s.)

Since Klengel died in 1935, I assume that this is not a new edition. The English version, however, is new to me, and no doubt will be to many others. Whether it has any chance of being adopted in this country must remain doubtful, since choral societies seem obstinately wedded to the original English version of 1800, in spite of the fact that much of it is ludicrous and some of it is nonsense. The Oxford University Press published a vocal score with a translation by Fox Strangways and Steuart Wilson in 1932, but this does not seem to have broken down the barriers of tradition. Perhaps Miss Roberts will have more success. I hope so, since much of her version is admirable, and where it falls short it should not be difficult to emend it. Where the text is biblical she has made a valiant effort to get as near as possible to the familiar words. This means that she writes 'The heavens declare the glory of God', which is a pity because it removes the repeated notes on 'erzählen'. She is also content, like her predecessors, to put the first syllable of 'heavens' on a minim, though no one would ever pronounce it like that. In general, however, the accentuation is just, and inversion seems to be reduced to the minimum. She also keeps Haydn's note values in many places where the other versions alter them, and she comes very well out of the test imposed by the catalogue of beasts. I particularly like 'all vigour and fire' for 'mit fliegender Mähne', which preserves what Haydn wrote, whereas 'with flying mane' (1800 version and Fox Strangways and Wilson) does not. 'Worm' is kept for the last note of the recitative, as in the original version, though the rest of the

sentence is modified. This is preferable to the Fox Strangways and Wilson version: 'In sinuous trace they their long dimension draw', which puts too much emphasis on 'they' and ends with an insignificant verb. It is true that 'Gewürm' does not exactly mean 'worm'; but one must have something like the original sound at the end, and Miss Roberts does justice to the original by writing 'In long procession creep the reptile and the worm' (the French version gets as near as it can by writing 'En longues traînes rampent larves et serpents'). On the other hand I cannot agree with her adoption of the Fox Strangways and Wilson version 'Wife beloved' for 'Holde Gattin'. 'Wife' is a feeble word with which to begin an aria. Here the 1800 version 'Graceful consort' is actually better, except that 'consort' is unnecessarily pompous. It would be simpler to say something like 'O my loved one', which gets the right vowel sound on the first note and gives the singer something to get his teeth into, if that is the right metaphor.

J. A. W.

ORCHESTRA

- Alwyn, William, *Symphony No. 4*. Miniature score. (Lengnick, London, 1960, 15s.)
- Cohen, Alan, *Four Old Jewish Songs*, for chamber orchestra. Miniature score. (Mills Music, London, 1959, 8s. 6d.)
- David, Johann Nepomuk, *Magische Quadrate*. Symphonic fantasia in three movements, Op. 52. Miniature score. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden, 1960, 16s.)
- Jacob, Gordon, *The Barber of Seville goes to the Devil*. Comedy Overture. Score. (Oxford University Press, 1960, 7s. 6d.)
- Jelinek, Hanns, *Parergon*, Op. 15b. Miniature score. (Universal Edition, Vienna, 1960, 8s. 6d.)
- Lutosławski, Witold, *Concerto*. Score. *Muzyka żałobna (Musique funèbre)*, for string orchestra. Score. (Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, Cracow, 1957 & 1958.)
- Morawetz, Oskar, *Divertimento*, for strings. Score. (Ricordi, Toronto, 1959, 15s.)

Alwyn's symphony is the one first heard at the Proms in 1959, where it struck me as a rather inconsequential bundle of modernisms outside his usual vocabulary, loosely held together round a recurring theme. I did not find a lot of pleasure in it. Cohen's are attractive, straightforward and concise settings of their simple tunes. David's symphonic fantasia, as its title suggests, is based on arithmetical (but not duodecimal) acrostics, by means of which the composer arrives at his musical material. The material that he gets out of them is surprisingly good, and his treatment of it, although not strikingly imaginative or original, has solid musical interest. Jelinek's is twelve-note music of much the same solidly worthy sort. He is a kind of self-appointed twelve-note academician and missionary, and the 'Parergon' is an orchestral version of five pieces from his 'Zwölfstönwerk', Op. 15—a large collection of pieces for many different combinations of instruments, "written and dedicated to all friends and lovers of compositions in the twelve-note system". Here

there are four dances (Waltz, Sarabande, Gavotte, Siciliano) and a final March, variously orchestrated.

Lutosławski's 'Funeral Music' was written in memory of Bartók and is heavily indebted to him, in particular to the 'Music for Strings and Percussion', and in general for certain devices of symmetry in thematic and formal construction. But there is a strong individuality too. The material is powerfully developed and finely sustained, and there are several passages of remarkable and exciting sound. His concerto for orchestra, also influenced by Bartók, is more popular in style. The themes are simple (several of them folk-like), and showy orchestration is an important part of it. There are three movements—Intrada, Capriccio Notturmo e Arioso (an ingenious double-movement), and Passacaglia, Toccata e Corale, in which the sections are separate but are all based on variants of the same theme. It looks a work worth putting on.

Morawetz's 'Divertimento' is a light Romantic piece of slight distinction, and Gordon Jacob's overture is a little joke that will appeal greatly to those who find Rossini's wit too refined and may win a smile now and then from those who do not.

C. M.

Haydn, Joseph, *Symphony No. 45, F# minor*. Facsimile of the original manuscript in the National Széchenyi Library, Budapest. (Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1959, £5.)

Divertimento, C major, ed. by Hubert Stephan. Score. (Doblinger, Vienna & Munich; Universal Edition, London, 1960, 13s. 6d.)

Overture to 'Acide e Galatea', ed. by H. C. Robbins Landon. Score. (Doblinger, Vienna & Munich; Universal Edition, London, 1959, 10s.)

Symphony, D major, ed. by H. C. Robbins Landon. Score. (Doblinger, Vienna & Munich; Universal Edition, London, 1959, 8s. 6d.)

Haydn's 'Farewell' symphony is not by any means the best of the works which he wrote in the 1770's. However its unusual form and the legend attached to it may be held to justify the publication of a facsimile. This is a reasonably clear production, considering that the original was probably a little faded. Haydn was a careful writer, except in the matter of accidentals—he is apt to omit them when they ought to be repeated in the next bar. He is also uneconomical in his use of paper: the autograph ends with two violin parts at the top of an otherwise blank page. Perhaps his music paper was supplied by the household. There seem to be no important differences between the autograph and the Eulenburg miniature score. In the first movement there are no slurs for the second violin in bars 50–3 and again in bars 189–91. In the second movement the violas and basses are marked *p* (not *pp*) against the *pp* for the first and second violins playing *con sordino*. The reason for this may be balance: Haydn had six violinists against a total of three players for viola, cello and double bass. In the final Adagio the bassoon is not marked *col basso*: in fact it has rests until the solo entry in bar 42. It is possible, of course, that these discrepancies may be the result of alterations made by Haydn at rehearsal and incorporated in the parts. A curious detail in the first movement, not reproduced in the Eulenburg score, is the inscription

'sapienti pauca' over the second violin part in bars 150-1. I imagine this is a warning of the enharmonic change, G♯ being in fact F♯.

The 'Divertimento' is on the whole an extrovert piece. It includes parts for two clarinets, treated exactly as if they were oboes. The editor has transferred Haydn's *clarini* parts to horns, which seems a sensible procedure. The fourth movement is an instrumental recitative, like the one in 'Le Midi' but a good deal less impressive. The English version of the preface is curious, without quite achieving the status of a museum piece. Haydn's *opera seria* 'Acide e Galatea' (1763) has survived only in an incomplete form. The overture, most of which is available in Haydn's autograph, is in three movements—a likeable piece, though not strikingly original. The D major symphony is also an overture to an opera, though which one is uncertain. It is familiar as the alternative finale to symphony No. 53 and was also rewritten to form the first movement of symphony No. 62.

J. A. W.

Stravinsky, Igor, *Monumentum pro Gesualdo di Venosa ad CD annum*. Miniature score. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 6s.)

It is a pity that the dead cannot be consulted before they are commemorated. It is difficult to imagine that the Prince of Venosa would have received with rapture this latest tribute to his memory. Stravinsky has taken two madrigals from the fifth book and one from the sixth and 'recomposed' them for an orchestra of oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, trombones and strings. This must have been an agreeable pastime and results in some striking contrasts of tone colour, but it makes absolute nonsense of Gesualdo's originals, where the music is intimately linked with the words. Take for example the opening of 'Beltà, poi che t'assenti' (VI. 2). The first word is set to a chord of G minor followed by a chord of E major—a favourite progression at the time. Stravinsky gives the first chord to strings and the second to horns, both marked *sf*. This curious alternation is pursued throughout the first line and the first half of the second. Even odder things happen elsewhere; and Gesualdo's vocal lines are frequently ripped asunder and replaced by new melodic progressions fabricated out of the original harmony. I take it that this is what is meant by 'recomposed'; the result is much more like decomposition.

J. A. W.

Galuppi, Baldassare, 6° *Concerto*, C minor, for strings, ed. by Virgilio Mortari. Score. (Ricordi, Milan, 1959, 7s. 6d.)

Vivaldi, Antonio, *Concerto in due cori*, ed. by Raymond Meylan. Score. (Universal Edition, Zürich, 1959, £2.)

Continuing a policy already noted in an earlier issue of this series ('Antica musica strumentale italiana'), no indication is given in the Galuppi concerto that the bass must be implemented by continuo harmony. Nor is any attempt made to distinguish editorial dynamics and phrasing from whatever the composer may have written. This compulsory acceptance of an editor's mediation is particularly irritating when he is lavish with *espress.* and *dolce* suggestions that any player could

find in the notes but preserves a masterful silence on the value of grace-notes. The concerto is pure a *quattro* style (Galuppi's original description, suppressed) and has a grave charm in its fluctuations between slightly old-fashioned contrapuntal ideas and forward-looking harmonic textures.

The Vivaldi concerto is No. 226 in Pincherle. We are given a keyboard part for each orchestra but no figuring, restrained editorial dynamic signs, and completion of the missing flute parts in the tutti. In return we are asked to include the editor's name on programmes and to pay a remarkably high price for a single concerto, which despite its antiphonal effects (few of them of arresting originality) is not above a routine level of invention. The organ part in the outer movements includes solo elements, distinguished on a separate stave from its continuo role. Harpsichord and organ textures are intelligently contrasted and have complementary functions when used together; only in the florid interpretation of Vivaldi's *liberamente arpeggiando* direction in the slow movement are some inelegancies exposed (e.g., the implied octaves of bars 3-4 and misunderstood progression of 10-11).

P. A. E.

PIANO AND ORCHESTRA

Stravinsky, Igor, *Movements*. Miniature score. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1960, 6s.)

This shortish work is serially the most complex that Stravinsky has yet composed, and of his major works is the most Webern-ish in dimensions. The five movements average only two minutes each. They are variously scored for mixed ensembles within a medium-sized orchestra, which is used in chamber-music style almost throughout. It is elusive in form because with the exception of the fourth movement it is non-thematic. This makes it more difficult to grasp or assess than anything Stravinsky has done before. After making a detailed analysis of it in preparation for the first European performance, and having since heard it three times, I still do not feel that I have got it, and therefore offer no critical comment.

C. M.

RECORDERS AND CONTINUO

Williams, William, *Sonata in Imitation of Birds*, for two treble recorders (or flutes) and continuo, ed. by Thurston Dart. (Oxford University Press, 1959, 7s. 6d.)

If it is true that the recorder derives its name from the bird-like quality of its tone, there is every excuse for the publication of this trio-sonata. It can now join such works as Couperin's 'Le Rossignol en amour' and Handel's 'Hush ye pretty warbling quire' and 'Augelletti che cantate' in the recorder-player's aviary, giving much pleasure to performers and audience alike. The editor no doubt looked at the six trio-sonatas from which this one comes and decided that it would not be a good idea to publish them all. What would be more right and natural than to select the one which offered some extra-musical feature to recommend it? As it is, the first few bars exhaust the specially bird-like qualities and the music

settles down to the pattern of a normal trio-sonata of the Purcell period (Adagio, Allegro, Grave and Allegro), pleasing but not outstanding. The editor has done his work well, providing an effective but not over-elaborate continuo.

E. H. H.

SOLO SONGS

Wit and Mirth: or Pills to purge Melancholy, ed. by Thomas D'Urfey. With an introduction by Cyrus L. Day. 6 vols. (in 3). pp. xii + 360; 348; 352; 352; 352; 373. (Folklore Library Publishers, New York; Oxford University Press, 1959, £8.)

Learned men refer to this collection as 'Pills', which suggests either an easy familiarity or a desire to puzzle the ordinary reader with scholarly abbreviations. Amateurs who have heard of D'Urfey suspect that the volumes are a monument of gross indecency. Whether indecency is calculated to purge melancholy is a question that must be left to moralists. The facts, however, can be simply stated. A good many songs in this collection are coarse, and some go beyond what would be permitted even on the modern stage, where very few holds now appear to be barred. But there is also a good deal that has become tedious with the passage of time, and also a certain amount that has nothing whatever to do with melancholy or its cure—songs on political themes, for example, and pieces like the ode on St. Cecilia's Day which was set by Blow. D'Urfey seems to have gathered everything into his net without discrimination and without any obvious attempt at arrangement. Tunes are not always printed—in some cases, no doubt, because they were already available in publications like 'Orpheus Britannicus'; but there are a sufficient number to make this a useful anthology of melodies popular at the time, some of which are familiar to us from 'The Beggar's Opera'. The present edition is a facsimile of the 1876 reprint of the original edition of 1719-20. It is beyond the wit of man to explain why so knowledgeable an editor as Mr. Day should be satisfied with this substitute for the real thing. "The text", he says, "though not impeccable, is extraordinarily accurate." This is really not good enough. What we want is a text which is a hundred per cent accurate. The photographer would have been better employed in exercising his art on D'Urfey's original.

J. A. W.

Purcell, Henry, *Orpheus Britannicus: Five Songs*, ed. by Benjamin Britten & Peter Pears. (Boosey & Hawkes, 1960, 9s.)

The editors say that this edition "will eventually, it is hoped, include most of the songs from the *Orpheus Britannicus* and the *Harmonia Sacra*". In that case they had better take a little more trouble about getting the text right. 'I attempt from love's sickness to fly' (the first song in this set) is so familiar that there is no excuse for blunders in the first line of p. 3. The original key signature of this A major song is two sharps, which means that any G which is not sharpened remains natural. This applies equally to the passing G in the bass of bar 8, since it was normal practice at this time to repeat an accidental if it was required

later in the same bar. It is no excuse for the editors to say that "this edition is not the work of musicologists". These are elementary mistakes; nor can I see any justification for altering the bass of "enough to rebel" without adding a note to say so. Musicologists may be dull dogs, but at least they get things right and also let the reader know what they are up to. The other familiar pieces in this set are 'Hark the ech'ing air', which is deprived of its trumpet obbligato (for reasons which are obscure to me, since superfluous introductions have been added to the other songs), and 'How blest are shepherds', which was harmonized in four parts by Purcell himself—with results which are preferable to Mr. Britten's.

J. A. W.

VIOLA AND PIANO

David, Johann Nepomuk, *Melancholia*, Op. 53, for viola and chamber orchestra. Piano score. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden; British & Continental Music Agencies, London, 1959, 15s.)

The composer tells us that 'Melancholia' is an engraving by Dürer and that the harmonic and thematic material of this piece is taken from a numerical acrostic (which he quotes) which occurs in the picture. Leaving the latter aside as being intended for those who cannot attend to the music, one can record that the work is in the style of a fantasy in three well-knit sections: Introduction and Andante, Scherzo (mainly on a ground) and Adagio. The serial motifs are distinctive and play a direct and audible part in the construction of the piece. As far as the piano arrangement shows, there is some imaginative instrumental writing. The final Adagio is fugal, beginning with B-A-C-H, and in comparison with the rest is somewhat dry, but a sight of the full score might change this impression.

I. K.

VIOLIN AND PIANO

David, Johann Nepomuk, *Violin Concerto No. 2*, Op. 50. Piano score. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden; British & Continental Music Agencies, London, 1959, 24s.)

The serial writing in this concerto clearly regards the tone-row as a good deal more than scaffolding (or jacket, as the case may be). It is manipulated to produce many thirds and sixths, and sequences and repetitions bring it near to the shapes and sounds of late Romanticism. To look at the solo part is to see the violin striking well-trying and unambiguous attitudes, though there are occasional passages of high chromatic octaves which seem more trouble than they are worth. There are three movements of clear shape and poetic sonority, the last an Allegro assai like a tarantella.

I. K.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of 'Music & Letters'

'ANONYMOUS ENGLISH PIECES IN TRENT 87'

Sir,

Since I am shortly to publish a checklist of all the known English music in foreign sources of the fifteenth century, I was most interested in Mr. Charles Hamm's article in the July issue. He isolates a small group of textless pieces, all late additions to this source and copied by the same scribe; in most of them, the top voice is labelled *trebulus*, and the tenor is written in major prolation against the diminished perfect time of the upper parts. Mr. Hamm goes on to single out a triplet cadence-formula as an "English figure", and also states that the use of flagged semiminims in major prolation is an English trait. Everything seems to fit very neatly, and Mr. Hamm concludes that "all six pieces, including the one attributed to Dufay in another manuscript, must be English". He even prints one as a carol.

A closer examination of this group, and a little rummaging in recent musicological literature, soon dispel this illusion, though some of Mr. Hamm's observations keep their force. No other English music was copied in the fascicles in question, or by the same scribe; nor can we parallel the instrumental style of some of these compositions in English music of the time. The use of flagged semiminims in major prolation is surely a survival from the black notation of the period before 1430, when prolation signatures started giving way to *tempus* notation. The English were more conservative than their Continental fellows in this respect. Since they continued to use prolation signatures in the new white notation, we must expect to find more flagged semiminims in their work: to have used coloured semiminims here would have led to confusion with their frequent groups of coloured minims and semibreves in *hemiola*. Speaking of the "English figure", Mr. Hamm admits that it is to be found in music by Continental masters, though he is right in pointing out that the English were particularly fond of it. The proportional trick of using major prolation against diminished perfect time probably started in England, for the earliest known examples occur in the Old Hall manuscript. But this "error anglorum", as Tinctoris later called the practice, soon became popular abroad, and was put to a specialized use in secular music, as we shall see. By the time of Adam von Fulda the old dot of prolation regularly meant a doubling of time-values; this was confirmed by Ornithoparchus (1517) and Glareanus (1547)—provided, of course, that the sign appeared in one voice only.

None of this evidence insists that these six pieces are of English origin. What then are they? Bukofzer answered this question in his posthumous paper 'Changing Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music' in *The Musical Quarterly*, xl (1958), p. 15. He succeeded in identifying three of Mr. Hamm's tenors. That of Trent no. 83 is the *basse danse* 'Je suis si

pauvre de liesse', which is found in the Brussels and Namur manuscripts. The tenor of Tyling's composition (no. 160) is the Dutch song 'T'Andernaken': no doubt Tyling was a Dutchman. It is interesting to note, too, that the piece which Mr. Hamm prints as a carol has the pattern *a b a'*, which according to Reese is a form common to many Dutch tunes ('Music in the Renaissance', p. 189). The third of Bukofzer's identifications provides the only link with England among these pieces: the tenor of no. 90 turns up in Bodleian, Digby 167 (fo. 31^v), with the French title 'Anxci [auxci?] bon youre delabonestren'. Since this monophonic tenor (and perhaps its companion in the Oxford source, 'Quene note') is the only *basse danse* to be found in English sources of the fifteenth century, and since it is copied in the rare stroke notation of the Namur collection, we are probably justified in assuming that some travelling minstrel brought it back with him from the Continent. I have not managed to find a *chanson* with the same title, though some of the dance melodies were undoubtedly taken from art music of the time.

We can see from the above that most or all of Mr. Hamm's pieces are polyphonic arrangements of continental dance-tunes. This is confirmed by a comparison with one or two of the other such settings which survive. In his essay 'A Polyphonic Basse Dance of the Renaissance' (chapter VI of 'Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music'), Bukofzer discusses a late fifteenth-century arrangement of the 'Spagna' melody by one Gulielmus: here, as in some of the Trent pieces, the tenor is written in major prolation and must be doubled in value, as required by the contemporary dance-manual of Antonio Cornazano. We have an even more direct parallel in the early sixteenth-century composer Erasmus Lapidica's setting of 'T'Andernaken', in which the tenor is treated in exactly the same way as Tyling's (see vol. 72 of the Austrian 'Denkmäler', pp. 52-3).

Mr. Hamm's details are not always correct. The "English figure" does not occur in the treble of no. 90 but in the contratenor; and he explains the proportional coloration of this same figure inaccurately—the *minor color* merely implies that the semibreve becomes perfect (p. 212). In the 'carol' the triplet of the second bar should be a quaver followed by two semiquavers (the ink has run in the first note, and the scribe has therefore marked it with a 'v' for 'vacat'); in the eighth bar, the treble should have two crotchet rests followed by an editorial crotchet *c* (the latter is omitted in the manuscript, but the rests are plain). Finally, there is a seventh textless piece in Trent 87 (fo. 120) which must belong with this group: though the top voice is marked *discantus* instead of *trebulus*, it is in the same handwriting as the others, and follows the pattern *a b c b'*.

65a, Russell Road,

Moseley,

Birmingham, 13.

BRIAN TROWELL.

THOMAS MORLEY'S BIOGRAPHY

Sir,

David Brown's suggested chronology for Thomas Morley's motets in the July issue was based, at least in part, on his and Thurston Dart's speculations about Morley's relations with Elizabethan recusants. In this

article these speculations become an "assumption of Morley's early Roman Catholicism", which leads Mr. Brown to decide on 1590 as "the end of the period of the Latin motets in manuscripts". It is no longer true, however, that the record of Morley's appointments to musical offices in the Church of England begins about that time. In the course of some recent research in the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral, happily now being arranged and calendared by Miss Barbara Dodwell of Reading University, I found that Morley was *magister puerorum* at Norwich from the Annunciation (25 March) in 1583 to St. John the Baptist's Day (24 June) in 1587. Morley's name has, in fact, been in print in connection with Norwich since 1553, though without the evidence of the Receiver's Account Rolls there was no reason to connect the name with the composer. In the 'Extracts from the Two Earliest Minute Books of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral, 1566-1649', edited by Rev. J. F. Williams and B. Cozens-Hardy (Norfolk Record Society, xxiv, 1953), there is the entry under 25 May, 1587:

Lease to Thomas Brown, of Brisley, of the howse chambers, and dorter within Christs Church, which howse was late in the tenure of Thomas Morley.

A further entry in the Account Roll for 1583-4 concerns Morley. It reads:

Et in regardis Dicti Thome Morley versus cust' [? a place-name] expensis suis pro determinacione litis et queribus [sic] inter eundem Thomam & quemdam Johannem Amery ex consideracione dicti Decani et prebendarum prout in Dicta schedula papiri manifeste patet.x s.

John Amery was a lay-clerk at Norwich from 1575 to 1597-8 and for one quarter in 1600-1 and three and a half quarters in 1601-2.

Faculty of Music,
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Oxford.

FRANK LL. HARRISON.

23 August, 1960.

RENOIR AND WAGNER

Sir,

In his review of my study of the Wagner portraits by Renoir (*Music & Letters*, October 1960) Mr. Dyneley Hussey doubts whether Renoir could have painted the portrait in the half-hour which Wagner allowed him for the session. He believes that the pencil drawing should be regarded as the original portrait from which Renoir painted the one in oils. In support of his claim he makes some interesting observations concerning the two portraits which cannot be regarded as proof and believes also that the sentence in Renoir's letter where the artist regrets that he is no Ingres indicates a drawing. May I draw attention to the following:

1. In Renoir's account, as reported by Vollard, and quoted by me in note 7 we read: "J'avais emporté *ma boîte à couleurs*" and further: "J'avais eu le temps de terminer mon étude, que je vendis par la suite à Robert de Bonnières". Although the account as reported by Vollard contains some small slips of memory, it seems most improbable that Renoir should have mentioned his paint-box if he had made a drawing. Moreover, the oil painting was in fact in the possession of R. de Bonnières, and passed

after his death to Jules Strauss and later to Alfred Cortot. The data are so precise that they cannot be doubted. Also the sitting, according to Renoir's letter, lasted not 30 but 35 minutes. After the sudden end of the session Renoir may have made a few corrections to the oil sketch. If Th. Duret (in 'Les Impressionistes'), following Renoir's account, reports that Wagner became tired and purple in the face, and Renoir in his letter regrets that he followed the changes in Wagner's appearance too closely, it would explain why the head is somewhat blurred and also its reddish colouring. By more precise strokes reminiscent of Ingres, Renoir then, so to speak, corrected the painting in the drawing.

2. The pencil drawing was published for the first time in *La Vie moderne* (24 February 1883) one year after the meeting in Palermo, that is immediately after Wagner's death, with the following caption: 'Portrait de Wagner, d'après le portrait à l'huile que Renoir fit à Palerme le 15 janvier 1882'. Had this drawing been the original portrait both publisher and editor would have had every reason to inform their readers accordingly. No doubt the facts were known to them as the meeting had taken place only shortly before. Renoir also made for *La Vie moderne* several other drawings after other portraits. That the pencil drawing was made specially for *La Vie moderne* on the occasion of Wagner's death is confirmed by the fact that it was in the possession of Charpentier, the publisher of the paper (reported by A. Jullien).

3. Adolphe Jullien, who with Renoir's friend Lascoux belonged to the inner circle of Paris 'Wagnerites' at the time, published the same pencil drawing in 1886 in his Wagner biography ('Richard Wagner, sa vie et son œuvre') with a similar caption: 'Dessin à mine de plombe d'après son esquisse à l'huile'.

4. Friedrich Glasenapp in the sixth volume of his official Wagner biography calls the portrait painted in Palermo a "very curious blue-pink thing". We know that Glasenapp, writing under the watchful eye of Cosima, relied for his description of Wagner's Palermo days largely on the notes of Paul von Joukowski, the eye-witness of the session (who was then still alive). If he speaks of a blue-pink thing he can have only the oil painting in mind.

I hope that these proofs will dispel Mr. Hussey's doubts.

Zeisigweg 6,
Zürich.

WILLI SCHUH.

7 November 1960.

BRITTEN'S 'MISSA BREVIS'

Sir,

Your reviewer, writing in the October issue about Britten's 'Missa Brevis' for boys' voices and organ says: "Continental voice production is really an essential requirement for the full effectiveness of this music". I have not heard the boys of Westminster Cathedral in the flesh but I have listened with very great pleasure to the recording of Victoria's 'Tenebrae' sung by the Westminster Cathedral Choir and can imagine the sort of singing your reviewer has in mind. However, I did hear the Mass sung in Canterbury Cathedral at a recital by the Cathedral boys with Dr. Sidney Campbell accompanying them, and found it musically very satisfying.

Each line of the vocal part was clear and sufficiently distinctive to enable one to follow the patterns through the echo. How close this singing was to the "full effectiveness of the music" I don't know, but it was a most enjoyable experience, and Dr. Campbell's accompaniment was exactly right for the music and the place.

The Red House,
London Road,
Canterbury.
11 November 1960.

LESLIE GREEN.

CECIL SHARP MEMORIAL

Sir,

English folksong has become part of our everyday life. Although other collectors were in the field, it is safe to assume that had not Cecil Sharp stayed at Hambridge, near Taunton, in September 1903, many of the songs which are so well-known today might have been lost for ever.

Cecil Sharp was visiting his friend, the Rev. Charles Marson, Vicar of Hambridge, when he heard the gardener, John England, singing 'The seeds of love'. What followed was remarkable, and now the tunes and words with which Cecil Sharp's name is irrevocably associated ring daily in our ears.

To commemorate this Hambridge event it is proposed to unveil a plaque in the wall of the Vicarage drive and we ask permission to invite your readers to send a donation (large or small) to cover the cost and help promote further interest in our English song. Every donor will receive an invitation to attend the unveiling, which will be held on 10 June 1961.

Donations should be sent to:

F. F. Brotherton, Esq.,	
Hon. Treasurer, Hambridge Plaque Fund,	
3 Barnfield Crescent, Exeter.	
The English Folk Dance	ST. AUDRIES, Somerset President,
and Song Society	THOMAS SALT, Dorset President,
S.W. Area Office,	HENRY TREFUSIS, Cornwall
3 Barnfield Crescent,	President,
Exeter.	EDWIN ROGERS, Devon President.

1 October 1960.

THE COPYRIGHT OF LITERARY MATERIAL

Sir,

I should be very grateful if you could spare me a little space to draw attention to the following matter.

Much difficulty and disappointment would be avoided if composers were informed of what they can and cannot do in the way of setting to music contemporary verse or other material that is protected by copyright. To quote the accepted authority, Copinger and Skone James on the Law of Copyright, "the right to perform a work in public is included in the copyright of any work whatsoever". Not all authors are willing for their works to be set to music and performed in public. In the case of a musical composition which comprises literary material that is copyright, the

author of the words can prevent public performance and publication. It would be a wise precaution if composers, before embarking on the arduous work of setting copyright poems or other material to music, would find out if the copyright holder has any objection; otherwise their work may be wasted. At least one case is known of a composer who wrote a whole opera based on a literary work that is protected by copyright, only to find that he was prevented from performing it or making any use of it at all in public.

I hope this letter may serve to make the situation clear, especially to young composers, who may thus be saved from unpleasantness and frustration.

Faber & Faber Ltd.,
24 Russell Square,
London, W.C.1.
12 October 1960.

P. F. DU SAUTOY.

BACH'S 'FIAUTI D'ECHO'

Sir,

Mr. Dart's suggestions on Bach's use of the term 'Fiauti d'echo' may perhaps find a little support in the use of stop-names in contemporary German organ-building. In the organ at Ansbach (Bavaria) by Wieglieb, mid-1730's, the *Hauptwerk* and *Oberwerk* each had an auxiliary stop called 'Echo' which seems to have been an octave coupler, i.e. giving the octave above, not at written pitch. Such couplers were virtually unknown then; hence the strange nomenclature. In another German specification of much later (c. 1800) by Zang, there is an 'Echo' stop on the 'delicate' manual—another 4 ft. pitch rank. My impression that this word was quite often used is perhaps stronger than ready evidence seems to support. But Mr. Dart is not suggesting, of course, that it is of common usage. In many eighteenth-century musical dictionaries (e.g. Grassineau's, London, 1740) 'Echo' is secondarily defined as an alternative word for *piano*; and while a *piano* flute would be even less effective in the Brandenburg concerto, one at octave pitch would not.

St. John's College,
Cambridge.

21 November 1960.

PETER F. WILLIAMS.

REVIEWERS

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BOOKS RECEIVED

- Chopin's Musical Style.* By Gerald Abraham. pp. xii + 116. (Oxford University Press, 1960, 12s. 6d.). A reprint, with corrections, of the first edition of 1939.
- Choice of Careers.* No. 101: *Music*. pp. 32. (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960, 1s.)
- Acta Musicae Studiosa.* By David Clegg. pp. 31. (A. C. Lomax's Successors, Lichfield, 1960.). A discussion of nationalism, with particular reference to Vaughan Williams, Bartók and Kodály.
- Aaron Copland. A Complete Catalogue of his Works.* pp. 40. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1960.)
- A Career in Music*, ed. by Robert Elkin. New and revised edition. pp. 247. (Novello, London, 1960, 21s.)
- Plato's Phaedo.* Translated with introduction and commentary by R. Hackforth. pp. vii + 200. (Liberal Arts Press, New York, 1960, \$1.25.) A reprint of the Cambridge University Press edition of 1952.
- A Catalogue of Miniature and Full Orchestral Scores in Yorkshire Libraries.* By Keith G. E. Harris. pp. 200. (Central Library, Bradford, 1960, 25s.)
- Frank Martin: sein Leben und Werk.* By Rudolf Klein. pp. 75. (Österreichische Musikzeitschrift, Vienna, 1960.)
- The Visible and Invisible in Pianoforte Technique.* By Tobias Matthay. pp. xv + 176 + 59. (Oxford University Press, 1960, 18s.). A reprint of the revised edition of 1947.
- The Musical Aesthetic of the Baroque.* By Anthony Milner. pp. 18. (University of Hull Publications, 1960.)
- Cheremis Musical Styles.* By Bruno Nettl. pp. xv + 108. (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1960.)
- Making Your Own Music.* By Sydney Northcote. pp. 120. (Phoenix House, London, 1960, 10s. 6d.)
- Lucas Lossius und seine Musiklehre.* By Friedhelm Onkelbach. 'Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung', Bd. XII. pp. iv + 480. (Bosse, Regensburg, 1960, DM.19.80.)
- Repertory of the Clarinet.* By Kalmen Opperman. pp. 140. (Ricordi, New York, 1960.)
- The Organ through the Music of the Service.* By R. Wagner Peyton. pp. 58. (Paxton, London, 1960, 8s. 6d.)
- Die Reihe*, ed. by Herbert Eimert & Karlheinz Stockhausen. IV: *Young Composers*. pp. 135. (Theodore Presser Company, Bryn Mawr; Universal Edition, London, 1960, 30s.)
- VII: *Form—Raum*. pp. 88. (Universal Edition, Vienna, 1960, 12s. 6d.)
- Ludwig van Beethoven.* By Eric Roseberry. pp. 43. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1960, 5s. 6d.)
- W. A. Mozart.* By Eric Roseberry. pp. 39. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1960, 5s. 6d.)

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